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ABSTRACT

This report concerns conditions in Boston and Springfield, the cities with the largest concentrations of Puerto Ricans in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The lack of adequate statistics on living conditions of Puerto Ricans remains one of the main barriers to determining a solution for any problem of the Puerto Rican community. This situation is particularly serious for the school children, who are classified as "white" or "nonwhite" but never as Puerto Rican. A second impediment permeating all Puerto Rican problems is the language barrier. Agencies in Boston and Springfield consistently had insufficient Spanish-speaking personnel, placing the Puerto Rican in the fringe area of a man who knows his needs but who can find no one to listen. The report is based on three sources of information: statements of speakers at an open meeting held May 11-13, 1971; exhibits submitted directly to the Committee; and telephone conversations with speakers following the open meeting. The contents of these hearings are organized in six parts: education, employment, housing, social services, antipoverty and Model Cities programs, and Federal enforcement. (Author/JM)

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ISSUES OF CONCERN TO PUERTO RICANS IN BOSTON AND SPRINGFIELD

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A Report of the

Massachusetts State Advisory Committee

to the

United States Commission on Civil Rights

February 1972

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PREFACE

The United States Commission on Civil Rights

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. By the terms of that act, as amended by the Civil Rights Act of 1960 and 1964, the Commission is charged with the following duties: investigation of individual discriminatory denials of the right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to denials of the equal protection of the law; appraisal of the laws and policies of the United States with respect to denials of equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting denials of the equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

The State Advisory Committees

An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105 (c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as amended. The Committees are made up of knowledgeable persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all relevant information concerning their respective States on matters within the jurisdiction of the Commission; advise the Commission upon matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports of the Commission to the President and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission in matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference which the Commission may hold within the State.

This report was submitted to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights by the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee. The conclusions and recommendations contained herein are based upon the Advisory Committee's evaluation of information received at open meetings in Boston, May 12-13, and Springfield, Massachusetts, May 11, 1971, and on staff and Committee investigations preparatory thereto. This report has been received by the Commission and will be considered by it in making its reports and recommendations to the President, the Congress, and Federal Departments and Agencies.

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1960's the fact that black people in this country held second class citizenship was finally made visible to America. The historic marches in the South, the sit-ins, the long delayed black articulation of the rights the Constitution guarantees all citizens were definitely woven into the fabric of American life.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, American minorities were given hope as some of their denials of equal opportunity, primarily in the area of public accommodations, began to diminish. However, immense areas of such denials of equal opportunity remain.

In the 1970's other minorities joined in the nationwide civil rights struggle. Foremost among these was the Spanish speaking American. From the Mexican American in the Southwestern deserts to the Latin American and Puerto Rican in sprawling East Coast cities, these groups compose a vital element of American society that can no longer be ignored.

Aware of the daily frustrations and defeats for Puerto Ricans in Eastern cities, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has initiated a study to determine solutions to some of these problems.

The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the Commission prepared the following report on conditions in Boston and Springfield, the cities with the largest concentrations of Puerto Ricans in the Commonwealth.

Throughout the meeting, the lack of adequate statistics on living conditions of Puerto Ricans remained one of the main barriers to determining a solution for any problem of the Puerto Rican community. This situation is particularly serious for the school children, who are classified as "white" or "nonwhite" but never as Puerto Rican.

A second impediment permeating all Puerto Rican problems is the language barrier. Agencies in Boston and Springfield consistently had insufficient Spanish speaking personnel, placing the Puerto Rican in the fringe area of a man who knows his needs but who can find no one to listen.

The report is based on three sources of information: statements of speakers at an open meeting held May 11-13, 1971; exhibits submitted directly to the Committee; and telephone conversations with speakers following the open meeting.

Education

Despite inadequate statistics, the Committee estimated that at least 2,500 Puerto Rican children in Boston are not attending school. In Springfield almost one-third of the Puerto Rican students at Chestnut Street Junior High School left before graduation. However, even if the Puerto Rican student does remain in school, he is destined to an education which will prepare him only for a "non-professional" job.

Bilingual education is an important and vital part of the struggle to give Puerto Rican children an adequate and equal education. Both Boston and Springfield have Title VII funded programs. These programs will expire in 5 years, and neither school system has devised a plan that will enable these programs to continue. Rather, the systems prefer to rely on "English as a Second Language" programs. This heightens the feeling that the Boston and Springfield schools believe the primary and often exclusive objective of bilingual education is the teaching of English. Very few programs contain a significant bicultural component, and Spanish is seldom, if ever, taught.

The lack of an adequate Spanish speaking staff is another grave deficiency in the Boston and Springfield schools. The hiring statistics for staff of these school districts may provide a partial explanation as to why the schools have failed the Puerto Rican child.

Employment

Language is also a barrier for the Puerto Rican seeking work. One out of every four Spanish speaking males in Massachusetts cities is jobless. Often this fact is directly caused by a language barrier. Many jobs, such as those under civil service, require that applicants take some type of written examination. The examinations are always in English.

Like the schools, all the State agencies and employment programs in the Boston and Springfield areas suffer from a continuing lack of Spanish speaking personnel. The Massachusetts Civil Service Commission does not even keep a record of the number of Spanish speaking employees in the civil service system.

Housing

Housing for Puerto Ricans in the ghettos of Boston and Springfield is inadequate, substandard, and expensive. In Springfield, the average Spanish speaking family pays more than one-fourth of its income for housing. The ghettos frequently provide the only means for the Puerto Rican family to live comfortably with their own language and culture.

Housing code enforcement and rent control would greatly alleviate many of the problems facing Puerto Ricans. However, the housing commissioner stated that there was nothing his department could do about landlords who charge high rents for property with code violations or property that should be condemned.

Even public housing is not yet a realistic alternative for the Puerto Rican community. Only 4 percent of Boston's public housing is occupied by Puerto Ricans.

Much of the access to public housing for the Puerto Ricans is blocked by the "1,2,3 rule", which requires applicants to choose units in the developments with the largest number of vacancies. Often these are not near the Puerto Rican community, and the applicant must then either take an apartment he doesn't want or go to the bottom of the list.

Social Services

Hospitals and public assistance offices are vital institutions in the life of a poor person. Social services in Boston, though, show the same hindrances evident in education, employment, and housing--a lack of statistics and an inability to communicate. Puerto Ricans are often afraid to go to the welfare department because they cannot communicate with the social worker, and they feel the treatment they receive is degrading. A Puerto Rican attempting to gain access to a hospital has to have an interpreter fill out the hospital admission form. This need for interpretation continues throughout the search for health services.

Rather than endure such hardships, many Puerto Ricans prefer the community clinics, where they can at least communicate with the personnel.

Antipoverty and Model Cities Programs

There are 17 Massachusetts Community Action Agencies working with the Spanish speaking community. Less than 8 percent of the 3,000 employees of these agencies are Spanish speaking. The model cities programs also suffer from the same inadequate staffing patterns.

But personnel is not the only drawback. Most of the agencies' programs are directed to the black community; the Puerto Rican community's needs are seldom considered. The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), administered by the Springfield Action Commission, trains and develops basic working skills among the economically deprived. Of the 150 persons CEP has placed in the last 3 years, only two were Spanish speaking.

Model cities programs do not have a better record. Puerto Ricans claim that the Spanish speaking communities are not included in the geographic boundaries of the model cities areas. Only 2 percent of the 18,500 model neighborhood residents in Springfield are Puerto Rican.

Part of the explanation of the paucity of Puerto Rican inclusion in the model cities programs is the lack of any agency which offers intake and referral services. However, the Boston Spanish Alliance Planning Center has proposed a multiservice center which has been approved by the model cities administration and now awaits funding by HUD.

Federal Enforcement

The Federal Government has displayed little leadership in securing total civil rights for Puerto Ricans in Massachusetts. It would appear that only one Federal employee is specifically assigned to Title VI enforcement in New England. Region I has a total staff of 4,800 employees, of whom only 30 are Spanish speaking.

CHAPTER ONE

EDUCATION

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts historically has been associated with the advancement of learning. Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Massachusetts was regarded as a distinguished center of American learning. To a large extent, it is still so regarded. Whatever the term that describes the overall pattern, however, the situation of Puerto Rican children can only be seen as tragic.

In Boston and Springfield the Advisory Committee listened to scores of school officials, parents, and concerned citizens discuss the crisis of the Puerto Rican in the public schools.

Everyone agreed that the problem was crucial and extensive; however, all felt that the dearth of specific data made it difficult to arrive at specific solutions.

I. Statistics

A. Statistical and general data on the Puerto Rican child in school are either nonexistent, deficient, or inaccurate. No records, report cards, test scores, or birth certificates are transferred from the schools in Puerto Rico to mainland schools. School officials claim that it is difficult, if not impossible, to keep accurate records on the Puerto Rican child because of his high degree of mobility. In Springfield, figures on Puerto Rican enrollment are always preceded by words of approximation. Dr. John E. Deady, the school superintendent, reports that "there are in the neighborhood of 1,800 youngsters in our schools. It is fluid because approximately one-half to one-third of the youngsters each year turn over."

Community leaders also point out that the problem is aggravated by the classification of Puerto Ricans either as "black" or "white". Such a classification is necessary under the State Racial Imbalance Act, although the State has not determined how to classify Puerto Ricans. Thus, some school departments lump the Puerto Rican with "whites" while others place these students with nonwhites. In no case are Puerto Ricans classified as Puerto Ricans or with other Hispanic groups.

B. Public School Enrollment

Taking into consideration the unrealiability of available statistics the Advisory Committee found the following:

1. Boston

Boston's public school statistics record a Puerto Rican enrollment of 1,791 children. In addition, according to a well-documented study by Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), there are at least 2,500 "missing" Puerto Rican children in Boston not attending school. The ABCD survey revealed that "nearly one-third (31.2 percent) of Spanish speaking children aged 6 through 17 living in Boston are not attending school. The highest proportion is in the 12 through 15 age bracket, where 34 percent are not enrolled.

Asked about these "missing students", Dr. William Ohrenberger, superintendent of schools, replied: "Well, I would assume that they are not known by me, and, therefore, I can't get them, but I assume they are at home."

Despite the evidence presented by the ABCD and other reports, the Boston School District has refused to admit that a sizable number of Spanish speaking children in Boston do not attend school. Suggestions that the school district conduct a citywide census to identify these children not in school were overruled on the basis that the school district had neither the money nor the personnel for such a census.

In 1970-71 there were 1,615 Puerto Ricans enrolled in elementary schools and 176 enrolled in high schools in Boston. According to a Puerto Rican community leader, there is a 90 percent dropout rate from Boston schools by Spanish speaking students. The school district does have statistics on Puerto Rican students who officially withdraw but none on those who simply vanish.

The Massachusetts Department of Education has shown an interest in the problems of Puerto Rican students, although its efforts have been limited. The department of education has the legal authority to study the special educational needs of Puerto Rican children and it has made recommendations on the subject to the Boston /and other/ school districts. In addition, it is conceivable that the Massachusetts Department of Education has the authority to force local school districts, through fund cutoffs, to insure the Puerto Rican child an adequate education. As yet the State department of education has not intervened in the case of Boston's "missing students".

For the Puerto Rican child, his problems are just beginning when he is located and enrolled in the public schools. The ABCD survey of the Spanish speaking community also revealed that nearly half (45.1 percent) of all Spanish speaking children who are in school (both public and private) are 1 year or more behind their expected grade level.

In 1970, seven Puerto Ricans were graduated from high school in Boston: of these, four were from parochial schools and three from public schools. Puente, an educational organization funded by HEW, was able to place two of these seven in college.

The high dropout rate is often the product of frustration. One witness at the hearing testified to this fact:

> /T/hey came from Puerto Rico, they're in the 10th, 11th, or senior year of high school, and they're 18,17,19 years old, they came to Boston and they place them in the 6th and 7th grades. You're wondering why they drop out. A person does not feel -- his identity is lost right there. When a person--all these little kids younger than him, 11, 12 years old. Here's a kid 19 trying to learn and he automatically gets an inferiority complex and quits.

2. Springfield

Although Springfield is much smaller than Boston, its Puerto Rican population is comparable. The city has all the unfavorable conditions of Boston but, because of the proportionately larger Puerto Rican population in Springfield, the dilemma may be more serious. The Springfield public schools have a total student enrollment of 31,216. The Puerto Rican student enrollment is 1,172 in elementary schools and 313 in high schools.

Dropouts are a major concern in Springfield. The school district conducted a study of Puerto Rican dropouts which revealed that 90 out of 313 dropped out of the regular programs at the predominantly Puerto Rican Chestnut Street Junior High School.

In addition, 34 of the 70 Puerto Rican students enrolled in the fundamental education program (designed to teach the fundamentals of speaking, reading, and writing English to non-English speaking students) dropped out during the school year 1969-1970. Out of these 34 dropouts, school records show that 24 dropped out to return to Puerto Rico.

Those who remain in school have no guarantee of success. In 1971, 11 Puerto Ricans graduated from high school in Springfield. All were in commerce, trade, or technical courses. None was in the college preparatory curriculum. Of the Puerto Ricans enrolled in high school in 1970, four were enrolled in the classical /college preparatory/course. The overwhelming majority was enrolled in commerce (43) and technical (17) curricula. The remainder (28) were enrolled in trade courses. The 1969 statistics remain virtually the same. Three Puerto Rican students were enrolled in classical courses, 27 in commerce, 25 in technical, and 17 in trade. It seems that if the Puerto Rican student can withstand the forces which encourage him to drop out of school, he is relegated to a high school curriculum which prepares him for nonprofessional status in the job world after graduation.

II. Programs and Personnel

If there is to be a solution to the crisis of the Puerto Rican in the classroom, there must first be an awareness of the problem. Over and over again, the Committee heard of a lack of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican teachers or guidance counselors and the inadequacy of the present programs for Puerto Rican youngsters.

A. Bilingual Education and Title VII

Bilingual education is a widely accepted technique for teaching English to non-English speaking students while preserving the students' mother tongue and culture. Yet in Boston and Springfield, bilingual education is a "luxury" not available to the vast majority of Puerto Rican children. As currently implemented in these two school systems, bilingual education under Title VII[1] is only a shell of what it promises the Puerto Rican community.

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) authorizes the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to fund bilingual education programs operated by local school districts. These programs are designed to meet the special educational needs of children from low-income families who have limited English speaking ability and in whose home environment the dominant language is not English.

Federal funds from Title VII support most of the bilingual education programs in Springfield and Boston. For 1971-72, Boston will receive $175,225 to run seven bilingual classes. Springfield will receive $116,000 for bilingual classes in grades K-6 at the Carew Street School.

Rather than fully developing Title VII bilingualism, the school districts are relying on the "English as a Second Language" program (ESL), essentially a course for English language skills, without cultural overtones. ESL is usually studied for only a limited number of hours per week. Bilingual education differs from ESL in that it uses the two languages, English and Spanish, for language instruction as well as for teaching subject matter.

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1 / Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended.

It does contain stubstantial bicultural component. Results from the Carew Street School show that in a bilingual classroom, Spanish speaking children perform as well as English speaking classmates down the hall. In ESL classrooms, the results are disheartening. While the child may learn English, he is falling behind in his or her other subjects. Many are discouraged and, hence, drop out.

Despite research to disprove the belief, the school districts of both Boston and Springfield still regard the "English as a Second Language" program as a panacea for remedying all the educational problems of the Spanish speaking child. Thousands of Federal dollars (in 1970-71, Boston spent $346,000 or 7.2 percent of its total Title I budget on ESL while Springfield spent approximately $125,000) are added to substantial local funds to support a piecemeal and ineffective method of teaching English. In the meantime, Puerto Rican children continue to fall behind in their daily classroom work.

With the exception of the Title VII bilingual programs,the bilingual education programs in both Boston and Springfield reflect the belief that the primary and often exclusive objective of a bilingual education program is the teaching of English. The programs are seen as transitional, i.e., after the student has attained an acceptable level of English proficiency he is transferred to a regular class. Minimum attention is given to the teaching of Spanish and very few programs contain a healthy bicultural component. Little attention is given to the value of preserving the students' "other" language and culture.

Despite this crying need for bilingual education, in 1970-71 only 486 Puerto Rican children were enrolled in "bilingual" education programs in Boston and 290 Puerto Rican children were enrolled in Springfield's

bilingual classes, excluding "English as a Second Language" classes. The figures indicate that the Puerto Rican child is being deprived of the opportunity to learn through a successful method of teaching in the native language.

The refusal to embrace true bilingual education was apparent in the testimony of Vincent Demonico, a member of the Springfield School Committee. Mr. Demonico was of the opinion that a bilingual program would teach Puerto Rican youngsters to speak English, and until they spoke English there would be a language barrier.

> I feel that we should make some attempt to have the English language become the language of the Puerto Ricans, so that they will not have this language problem continuing.

Perhaps this is where one solution to the problem is to be found. Few of the school officials had the broad concept of bilingualism that includes teaching Spanish speaking students in their native language, as opposed to only conducting mere remedial classes.

B. Experiments in Bilingual Education

The experiment in bilingualism at Springfield's Carew Street School and Boston's Transitional Cluster indicate that all is not bleak. The Boston Transitional School program teaches Spanish speaking students English through a bilingual-bicultural program, transferring them to the regular schools when they are able to compete adequately in English with their peers. However, the attitudes of school officials and school committee members suggest that these few rays of hope will never amount to more than successful limited experiments. For, although Title VII funding will expire in both cities in 2 years, neither school system has devised a plan for assuming the full financial responsibility necessary for the existing programs to continue and expand.

C. Spanish Speaking Teachers

One major barrier to bettering the educational lot of Puerto Rican students is a lack of "qualified" personnel. By the testimony of their respective superintendents of schools, both Boston and Springfield do not have an adequate supply of Spanish speaking teachers. This insufficiency has become apparent as the need for persons to work in bilingual education has increased. Despite the urgency of the situation, there has been little or no attempt to give provisional certification to Spanish speaking persons who lack sufficient credits to fulfill local requirements.

This lack is closely tied to the requirements of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission. Superintendent Ohrenberger was almost apologetic in describing his plight.

> /T/here are only two areas for what I call entry, and you put your finger on both of them, the teacher and the guidance counselor or guidance advisor. Certainly, we would welcome as many Spanish speaking and Puerto Ricans as become eligible.... /T/here is little I can do as superintendent to challenge the civil service regulations.

Wherever one turns, the failure to provide Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican staff is always apparent. In the Springfield and Boston school systems, principals, administrators, teachers aides, and counselors are hired by the local school committees while attendance officers, clerical workers, cafeteria workers, and maintenance personnel are hired through the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission. The employment statistics for the school districts in both cities may provide a partial explanation as to why these districts have failed the Puerto Rican child. With few who speak Spanish and even fewer who are Puerto Ricans, the large number of "missing" students, the high dropout rate,

and the low number of graduates are understandable.

Even in the sympathetic bureaucracy of the State commissioner of education, the staff problem is present. The State department of education employes 650 persons. Two members of the professional staff and two clerical workers are Puerto Ricans. The reason behind this is that most jobs require a number of years of experience in local school districts. Obviously, since so few Puerto Ricans staff local schools, this requirement excludes practically all Puerto Ricans from employment with the State department of education.

Civil service requirements that professionals have significant previous employment in school systems has the effect of discriminating against Puerto Ricans. The commissioner of education seems to have the authority under the statute establishing the commission's office, the State Racial Imbalance Act, Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, or even the 14th amendment itself, to investigate employment discrimination in public education. Yet this agency replied that it was too busy enforcing desegregation in <u>three</u> school systems to take on other civil rights enforcement matters.

D. Head Start Program

Outside the archaic regulations of the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission, and the antiquated politics of Massachusetts school districts, Puerto Rican youngsters are still foreclosed from participation in widely acclaimed programs such as Head Start.

Head Start, an education program for preschool disadvantaged children, is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and administered by the local antipoverty agency.

Massachusetts has a total of 22 summner and full year programs. Its 1971 Fiscal Year budget for Massachusetts is $8,538,984. Yet there is an insufficient representation of Puerto Rican children in Head Start, particularly in Boston. There are 1,300 children enrolled in Head Start programs in Boston; 116 are Puerto Rican. In Springfield, only two Puerto Rican children are enrolled in the city's Head Start Program. There are no statistics available on the ethnic breakdown of persons employed in Head Start programs.

If Puerto Rican youngsters are missing from Head Start, it is not because of a lack of preschool children. It is estimated that 41 percent of Puerto Rican youngsters are under the age of 6--the ideal period to begin an education and preferably a bilingual one. The enrollment of Puerto Rican children in the federally funded Head Start classes, and preparation by school districts to enroll the Head Start graduates in compulsory kindergarten next fall, could lead to the production of many more future Puerto Rican high school graduates.

III. Community Involvement

In the current crisis, it would appear a simple remedy to have school districts work with Puerto Rican parents and community leaders to improve the situation. Communication between the school and community groups could conceivably aid the school district in enrolling students, counseling dropouts, and determining the future of bilingual programs. Sadly, poor communication, if any, exists between the local school districts and the Puerto Rican community.

As a result, the Puerto Rican community is ill-informed about the education of its children. Attempts by the school districts to work with the Title I [2/] parent advisory groups have resulted in frustration on both sides.

A. Title I Advisory Councils

Under Title I, each school system receiving funds must establish a parent advisory council composed of elected parents of children within the school, and give it full opportunity to help in determining the needs of children and the planning and evaluation of Title I programs. The Title I parent advisory council in Springfield has a total of 81 members, eight of whom are Puerto Rican. Boston has 66 delegates and 42 alternates to its three Title I advisory councils. There are no Puerto Rican members.

Neither side is happy with this state of affairs. The schools complain that they have no community participation. The parent advisory groups state that they only "rubber stamp" programs and do not assist in planning or program design. The mere suggestion of a Puerto Rican on an advisory group creates problems. So far, no Puerto Rican has been elected. Even without elected representatives, participation is difficult since the State guidelines on parent involvement are not available in Spanish.

2/Title I provides Federal financial assistance to local educational agencies for the purpose of meeting the special needs of low-income and educationally deprived children, funded by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

B. Bilingual Education Act: H.3575

The Puerto Rican and Spanish speaking community is concerned with the plight of its children and it is seeking action in other channels beyond the local school districts. Through the hard work of Spanish speaking community leaders, there is a proposal (House Bill 3575) before the Massachusetts House Ways and Means Committee, which will make bilingual transitional education mandatory in Massachusetts and provide proper guidelines for staffing necessary State and local organizations to carry out the requirements of the bill. The passage of House Bill 3575[3/] may provide the impetus to move many local school districts to a more active involvement in bilingual education and to stronger efforts to communicate with the Puerto Rican community.

C. Points of Conflict

The complete lack of any ongoing relationship between the officials and Puerto Rican groups leads to a number of unpleasant situations. For example, one Springfield principal was transferred from one high school to another after community pressure. In his new school, the principal did not want Spanish taught because the tradition of this school was to teach French as its foreign language. According to parents and community speakers, the school is 85 percent Spanish speaking.

A second confrontation surrounds the location of the Roxbury Transitional Clusters.

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3 / The Bilingual Education Act was passed by the Massachusetts Legislature on Oct. 30, 1971.

Since 1969, the Spanish speaking community in Boston has attempted to get the Boston School District to find adequate and permanent classroom space for the bilingual transitional clusters. After considerable community pressure, space was rented at the Denision House[4/] in Roxbury on a "temporary" basis. Due to overcrowding and lack of supplies and insufficient heat, effective teaching and learning were difficult. Despite community intervention to relocate the learning site, the Roxbury bilingual cluster remains at the Denision House. School officials have stated that there is no available space for the cluster in any school in Roxbury. There remains the ever increasing possibility that the Roxbury Transitional Cluster may be discontinued because there is no room for it.

D. Puente

Puerto Ricans are taking other steps to improve the life of the Puerto Rican student outside the confines of the public schools, such as Puente, a community education agency in Boston, funded by a $60,000 grant from the U. S. Office of Education. Puente operates a talent search project in the Spanish speaking community. The project provides counseling and referral services to Spanish speaking students and works closely with colleges and industry to establish special admissions and training programs for the Spanish speaking. Puente is the only educational agency for the Spanish speaking in New England. So far, Puente has been able to place two recent graduates in Boston area colleges.

4/ A community multiservice center.

Perhaps Puente will be able to send more Puerto Ricans to college when the local school systems graduate more Puerto Rican college bound students.

Summary

The Puerto Rican child is facing an identity crisis in the schools. Not only are Puerto Rican role figures such as teachers and guidance counselors nonexistent, but very few schools offer courses on Puerto Rican or Latin American history and culture. Such courses would instill a sense of pride in the Puerto Rican student and make other students aware of the value in cultural differences.

Before innovative courses can be implemented, however, there must be a change in the present ability of the Boston and Springfield School Districts to handle Puerto Rican youngsters. There must be accurate statistics on the number of Puerto Rican students and accurate school records. The schools will then be prepared to plan programs and to hire Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican teachers and staff.

The final ingredient for a quality bilingual education program for Puerto Ricans is community participation. Today there is very little of this. With it, programming, staff recruitment, and student achievement should show measureable improvements. Perhaps a good place for Federal and State officials to begin this process of community participation is within the Head Start and kindergarten programs. A beginning here may provide Puente with the flood of Puerto Rican high school seniors that it so desperately lacked in 1971.

Recommendations of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee:

1. That the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, in conjunction with the local school districts, conduct a census to determine the number of Spanish speaking children in the public schools.
2. That local school districts keep records on Puerto Rican students as "Puerto Ricans" separate from other classifications including attendance, dropout rates, and achievement levels.
3. That local school districts guarantee non-English speaking children the right to learn through the language of their birth. Efforts should made so that special programs, such as the work-study program and the vocational education classes, be available on a bilingual-bicultural basis.
4. That local school districts begin to transfer the funds now used to support "English as a Second Language" programs plus additional Title I monies to develop and implement bilingual-bicultural education programs.
5. That the Massachusetts State Legislature (known in the Commonwealth as The Great and General Court) enact House Bill No. 3575, which would make bilingual education mandatory in each school district in the State, and appropriate funds for its implementation.
6. That the school districts of Boston and Springfield create an advisory committee on bilingual education in which representatives of the school district, Spanish speaking educators, and parents in the Puerto Rican community can cooperate in working to educate the children of that community.

7. That the local school districts seek waivers of certification requirements and that provisional certification be granted to all Puerto Rican and other ethnic Spanish speaking teachers who have the equivalent of a B. S. degree.
8. That the local school committees continue to recruit teachers in Puerto Rico and that the recruiters determine that the recruits are truly bilingual before offering teaching positions.
9. That, pending employment of a sufficient number of bilingual teachers, the school districts recruit and train bilingual Puerto Rican para-professionals for teacher aide positions, and the school districts should consider a career opportunity program that would permit teachers' aides to attend college and achieve certification.
10. That the local school districts hire Spanish speaking guidance counselors to encourage Puerto Rican students to stay in school and follow college preparatory curricula.
11. That local school districts and the Massachusetts Commissioner of Education administer the high school equivalency test in Spanish.
12. That the commissioner of education seek modifications of the civil service regulations so that the Commonwealth may employ Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speaking persons at all levels within the agency.
13. That the Commonwealth and the local school districts begin to make all school forms and information handouts available to parents in Spanish.
14. That local school districts institute ongoing training sessions for teachers and administrators who work with Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speaking children to sensitize them to Puerto Rican culture and family life.

15. That the Boston School District find suitable space in the Roxbury area for the bilingual transitional clusters.

16. That local community action agencies select representative Spanish speaking pupils and teachers for their Head Start programs, and initiate experimental bilingual-bicultural programs for such children.

17. That additional appropriations for bilingual education be available through Titles I and VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

18. That Titles I and VII funds be available for bilingual teacher and teacher aide training programs.

19. That the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) allocate funds for the creation of a regional curriculum development laboratory which would develop bilingual curricula suitable for the Spanish speaking student.

CHAPTER TWO

EMPLOYMENT

Language and culture hinder the Puerto Rican job seeker as much as they cripple the Puerto Rican student. The worker's problem may, in the long run, be more tragic, since it undermines the traditional unity of the Puerto Rican family.

The New England Federal Regional Council, a Federal interagency coordinating body, reports that one out of every four Spanish speaking males in Massachusetts' cities is jobless-- a figure far above the national unemployment rate for men. The major factors contributing to the employment problems of Puerto Ricans are the language barrier, limited education, lack of job training, a lack of experience in factory-type employment, and the failure of public employers to cooperate.

The inability to speak English eliminates or greatly hampers job opportunities for Spanish speaking Puerto Ricans. Most employment sources do not have applications in Spanish nor do they have Spanish speaking personnel. If a Spanish speaking Puerto Rican does get a job, it is often difficult for him to communicate with his supervisors or other employees. This often leads to an early dismissal. Many jobs, especially within civil service, require that an applicant take some type of written examination for which there is usually no Spanish version .

Most Puerto Ricans are employed as services workers, laborers, and operatives. Recent estimates place the number of Puerto Ricans employed in these positions at 75 percent of the Puerto Rican work force. The jobs of Puerto Ricans are those of the dishwasher, delivery man, factory worker, and laundry worker. Few, and in some areas, no Puerto Ricans are employed in the building and construction trades, in heavy industrial work, or in civil service positions. The employment picture of Puerto Ricans is, in short, synonomous with the low-paying unskilled and most expendable sector of the American labor market.

I. Massachusetts State Employment Practices

The State agencies most closely associated with the employment patterns of Puerto Ricans are the division of employment security (DES) and the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission (CSC). The division of employment security is the State agency charged with encouraging employment and caring for the unemployed.

The DES states that wherever there is a significant number of Puerto Ricans, a special effort is made to extend to that community the services available through all of its programs. The division estimates that about 4 percent of those seeking DES services are Spanish speaking. In Boston and Springfield, the figures are 10 percent and 8 percent respectively. The DES State minority group representative on the staff of the local office is the principal

point of contact with the Spanish speaking community, its organizations, and other agencies concerned with employment services in the community.

The DES could furnish no data pertaining to Puerto Rican utilization of its services. The reason for this lack of information, according to the agency, is that its reporting system is devised by the Manpower Administration of the U. S. Department of Labor. The Labor Department system has no classification for Puerto Ricans. In fact, the practice in Massachusetts has been to classify Puerto Ricans as "black" unless an individual exception is made.

The outreach efforts to provide the Puerto Rican community with job placement and employment programs have been limited. In Boston, the explanation given by DES for the small outreach effort is that a large portion of the city was designated as a "target area" by the Department of Labor several years ago. DES was excluded from operating within that area, which was served by the local community action program ABCD.

Since that time the rapidly growing Spanish speaking population has been largely concentrated in that area. Both by agreement and contract, the DES has provided staff to ABCD in their neighborhood employment centers and other installations. DES efforts to reach the Puerto Rican community are necessarily conducted jointly with others under the umbrella of ABCD.

The Concentrated Employment Program is another area of DES involvement. CEP is funded by the Department of Labor, and administered by the local antipoverty agencies in Boston and Springfield. Its objective is to train and develop basic working skills among the economically deprived. The division of employment security's involvement with CEP is through its close working relationship with the National Alliance of Businessmen[1/] (NAB). In Boston and Springfield the DES shares with the local concentrated employment programs the responsibility for certifying the eligibility of applicants for NAB contract jobs. It is estimated that only about 10 percent of those hired since the start of their program have been Spanish speaking.

One reason for the DES's difficulty in coming to grips with the Puerto Rican employment picture may be the division's lack of Spanish speaking or Puerto Rican employees. DES has a total of 3,225 employees, 40 of whom are Spanish surnamed. None is in an administrative position .

1/ Information concerning NAB programs was gathered through State employment services and local community groups. The NAB provided the Advisory Committee with no information and refused to make a presentation at the open meeting.

One bright spot has been the Work Incentive Program (WIN) that DES administers jointly with the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare. It provides Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) recipients with a broad range of services designed to help the enrollees become self-supporting. Services include counseling, orientation, training and work experience, day care, health and social services, and job development. In Boston, because of the numbers involved, DES has found it desirable to assign two WIN team members to serve only Spanish speaking participants.

The failure of the department of employment security to employ an adequate number of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican staff is not an isolated incident. Throughout the government agencies and the public service institutions (hospitals, health centers, and the like) the need for Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican employees has always been evident. Without Spanish speaking staff, these agencies and institutions are unable to communicate with the community they hope to serve. Without Puerto Rican employees, the agencies are unable to provide the Puerto Rican community with the friendly face and knowledge of Puerto Rican history and culture that only a kinsman can offer.

Because many Puerto Ricans are poor, unemployed recent arrivals, they naturally gravitate to the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare (DPW) for help. Yet, the DPW has a poor record in the employment of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican social workers and para-professional employees.

There are 230 employees in the Springfield Community Service Center of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare. Yet only six are Puerto Ricans and only one is a social worker, out of a total staff of 92 social workers. There are 25 social service technicians but only one is Puerto Rican.

In Boston, the DPW employs 500 social workers: 22 are Spanish speaking, and none is Puerto Rican. Total staff for the Boston Service Center is about 1,200, and approximately 12 are believed to be Puerto Rican. (See Figs. 1 and 2.)

In spite of the acute shortage of Spanish speaking and particularly Puerto Rican social workers in the welfare departments in Springfield and Boston, neither of the two service centers has made an affirmative effort to recruit such personnel.

The need for Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican employees in the division of employment security and the welfare department is obvious. But even where obvious, the need goes unmet. The Puerto Rican is neither helped nor employed. The same can be said of Puerto Rican and Spanish speaking employment in local school districts, the Massachusetts State Department of Education, municipal hospitals, other publicly assisted hospitals, and housing authorities. All claim to be looking for qualified applicants without seemingly being able to find any.

The employment statistics for the school districts in Boston and Springfield are indicative of the statewide pattern. The total staff for both systems is 7,961; the number of Puerto Ricans is 20. (See Fig. 3.) On the State level, the department of education employs just two Puerto Ricans in a labor force of 650. (See p. 15.) Shifting to Springfield, the three major hospitals in the city report 3,023 employees, 44 Spanish speaking and 19 possibly Puerto Rican. (See Fig. 4.)

Puerto Ricans are a substantial part of the constitutency of the housing authorities in Boston and Springfield. Additionally, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) is now involved in a major urban renewal project in Boston's South End, the center of the Puerto Rican community. The three agencies employ 30 Puerto Ricans out of a total work force of 1,326 (See Fig. 5.)[2/]

2/ Finally, there are the employment statistics for the Federal Agencies. These figures will be reviewed in great detail in the discussion of the New England Federal Regional Council. Summary would show that the New England area has 4,800 employees, 30 of whom are Puerto Rican or of Spanish origin. (See pp. 88-89.)

II. The Massachusetts Civil Service Commission

Weaving its way in and out of any discussion of public employment in Massachusetts is the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission. The commission not only administers examinations for the mammoth State bureaucracy, but it also administers tests to those who seek civil service employment with Massachusetts city and town governments. All told, the civil service commission is the largest "employer" in the Commonwealth, administering tests for 25,000 State and 55,000 local government positions.

If State and local governments are deficient in employing the Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican, a lion's share of the blame must rest with the civil service commission. The civil service consists of two sections--the labor service and the official service. Written tests are required for most positions in the official service. Labor service jobs most often require some job skill, training, or apprenticeship. While Puerto Ricans have some problems with the labor service, their most bitter complaint is against the 300 written tests administered by the agency for its official service.

To secure a civil service position, an applicant must pass a written examination and a physical examination. Of the 300 written tests, only two are currently administered in Spanish. One is for an employment aide in DES, and the other is for an interpreter at

Boston City Hospital. A third Spanish exam "in the pipeline" is for the position of claims aide with the same division of employment security. Statistics that would show the total number of Puerto Ricans in the civil service system are not even kept by the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission. The response of Miss Mabel Campbell, the civil service director, states the reason:

> We have not really, even now legal authority to ask anyone's race, religion, or so on.
>
> No, we can't inquire. It's right in the law. We can't ask anybody's race or anything else.
>
> Well, our interpretation is that we have no right to inquire as to anybody's race, religion or origin.

Contrary to Mrs. Campbell's testimony, Mrs. Erna Ballantine, former chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination and a member of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, stated during the hearings that, for purposes of statistical gathering and in cases where the State or city governments are trying to effect equal opportunity, racial and ethnic identification is permissible. As an example, she stated that such information does now exist pertaining to all public housing authorities in the State of Massachusetts.

No one knows how many Puerto Ricans have civil service positions today. School districts, hospitals, and the welfare department complain that they cannot hire Puerto Ricans because they fail to qualify under civil service; and the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission relies upon two separate lines of authority.

First, the Commission states that it cannot disregard the requirements of the State civil service law; and second, the Commission can only act when it has proper information from the appointing authorities. The gist of the latter is that the local school districts should request an examination given in Spanish. When asked why examinations for file clerks and stenographers were not available in Spanish, the director replied:

> And I think you will find on our next examination it's going to be given in Spanish as well as English. But nobody has pointed out this crying need.

It would seem incumbent upon the civil service commission as an equal opportunity employer to unilaterally expand the number of written tests available in Spanish. If there are budgetary constraints the commission should alert the legislature to the importance of these changes. However, there also appears to be a good deal of buck-passing among the commission, the State, and local appointing authorities. Testimony by the director suggested that many impediments to Puerto Rican employment are statutory, or required by State and Federal regulations. In these areas, the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission has failed to state precisely where change is required and the public employers have failed to take action to seek appropriate administrative and legislative change.

Summary

That the Government would attempt to help a group of American citizens without attempting to communicate with them is an astonishing proposition in any context. Yet this is an everyday story for Puerto Ricans. If the cycle is to be broken, the public service employment of the Puerto Rican must begin. A small first step might include some initiative on the part of the civil service commission and all State and local

government employers. From this meager start, education, health care, and employment prospects in the private sector are bound to improve.

Recommendations of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee:

1. That the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission conduct an investigation, with the assistance of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, to determine the number of Spanish speaking employees within the civil service system. In order to make this assessment, the civil service commission should gather and review comprehensive information, by nonminority-minority classification, on employee distribution among the various agency components, job levels and locations, as well as data on referrals, applications, acceptances, promotions, and other personnel actions.
2. That the civil service commission employ Spanish speaking persons in policy making positions, interviewing, and other public contact positions, and that all announcements of civil service vacancies be distributed in Spanish.
3. That the civil service commission consult with employing authorities and the Spanish speaking community to determine what examinations should be available in Spanish.
4. That the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security employ Spanish speaking interviewers in the Boston and Springfield offices and provide applications and other job information in Spanish.
5. That examinations administered by the division of employment security and the civil service commission provide a Spanish version if language is not an essential requisite to the job.

6. That Congress should amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by including State and local governments in the coverage of Title VII.

CHAPTER THREE

HOUSING

Housing problems that confront most Puerto Ricans are usually the same as those which confront most slum dwellers, except that they are more acute. The housing is substandard and dilapidated, often containing inadequate plumbing facilities. Because of their low per capita income, Puerto Ricans in Boston and Springfield are also forced to pay a far above average portion of their income for rent. This large expense affects all facets of their lives; it takes needed money away from other necessary budget items such as food, health services, clothing, and education.

The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee sought specifically to investigate those problems peculiar to the Puerto Rican community. The statements of residents and public officials at the open meeting focused on such problems. Of prime concern were the problems of communication with housing officials.

In both Springfield and Boston, most of the Puerto Ricans live in one area of the city. In Springfield, most reside in the North End of the city in an area known as Memorial Square. Most of Boston's Puerto Ricans live in the South End, though some have been forced to move because of urban renewal activities.

While Memorial Square in Springfield is predominantly Spanish, the South End of Boston is more diverse, and the Spanish speaking population is about 20 percent of the total population there.

An in-depth study of housing conditions in the Memorial Square area of Springfield reveals the rundown character of the area. The Springfield Spanish American Union conducted a survey in 1969 to document the housing conditions and rent costs. A total of 565 households was surveyed. Of these, 231 (or 41 percent) were Spanish speaking, mostly Puerto Ricans, 61 (or 11 percent) were black, and 273 (or 48 percent) were white. The survey showed that the average Spanish speaking family pays 26 percent of its income for rent while the white family pays 13 percent of its income for rent and the black family pays 15 percent. The survey also disclosed that the rent paid by the Spanish speaking is in excess of that paid by black and white families, supposedly because Spanish speaking families rent their housing facilities by the week, paying an average weekly rent of $26. Only 26 percent rent their housing by the month and this group pays an average of $65 per month. Additional information received at the May open meeting revealed that Spanish speaking families are paying $38 and $40 a week for mice and vermin-ridden apartments.

I. Cultural Parameters

Because of the Puerto Rican tradition of extended family living,[1/] apartment units with three to six bedrooms are required to house the typical family. Such units are scarce and expensive if found. Puerto Ricans unable to pay the high rent from their meager incomes are forced to share a smaller apartment with relatives or friends.

1/ The Puerto Rican extended family includes not only parents and children, but grandparents, cousins, nephews, godparents, "compadres", and other blood relatives.

Beyond the boundaries of the barrios,[2/] prospective Puerto Rican tenants do not find themselves any better off. In the private housing market, many barriers prohibit easy access to adequate housing for the Puerto Rican population. Puerto Ricans find that good housing often is not available to them, even if their income will permit it, when it is discovered that they are Puerto Ricans.

The other factor relegating Puerto Ricans to the slums is their strong cultural ties. The South End and Memorial Square provide the relatives, friends, Spanish newspapers, and culture that are unavailable elsewhere. With his distinctive language and culture, the Puerto Rican is reluctant to stray from the old neighborhood.

Puerto Ricans are the victims of the vicious cycle of housing shortage, housing deterioration, exorbitant rents, and discrimination that precludes an exit from the cycle. While the pattern generally affects all poor Americans, it is particularly hard on the Puerto Rican because of his language burden and his low level of income.

II. Housing Codes and Rent Control

One stopgap measure advocated to halt the cycle of ghetto living conditions is housing code enforcement. In Springfield the housing department must enforce minimum standards of fitness for human habitation under the Massachusetts Sanitary Code. It is also empowered to demolish and remove structures or buildings deemed a hazard to health and a public

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2/ "Barrio" is a Spanish term meaning "neighborhood". However, it has come into common usage as the Spanish speaking equivalent of the ghetto.

nuisance. The housing department states that its primary objective in the Memorial Square area is one of maintenance, because of the magnitude of the problems there. There are statistics for inspection, violations, and the correction of violations, but the data do not have a separate category for Puerto Ricans. Commissioner Jenkins of the housing department said:

> What we've been doing is really catchup work, patchup work, mending type stuff, until such time a more clear definition to the problems and solutions can be met.

The housing department complains that the provisions of the State sanitary code should be revised and strengthened to overcome their present inadequacies. The housing department also cites the backlog in the local courts as a hinderance to effective code enforcement.

Mr. Jenkins stated that there was nothing that his department could do about landlords charging high rents for property that has violations or for property that should be condemned and that, if the property is condemned, there is just not enough housing available to relocate the tenants who are displaced. Jenkins also believed that a lack of rent controls allowed landlords to request and get high rental rates for substandard dwellings:

> There are perhaps 100 condemnation cases on our files right now where the house actually has that many violations, various violations that warrant condemnation..../T/here's a moral issue here. What happens when I do actually condemn them? So again we're faced with a problem...

If housing code enforcement is not the panacea for improving deteriorating housing, what is the alternative? If housing cannot be brought up to minimum code standards, perhaps the solution is to bring rents within the income range of the tenants. Rent control is not an answer to a problem unique to Puerto Ricans. It is a solution that would have citywide applicability, affecting white, black, and Puerto Rican tenants, the poor and the not so poor.

Rent control has become a vital issue in Massachusetts. The State legislature has passed an enabling statute permitting the cities and towns of the Commonwealth to adopt rent control on a local option. The statute has been adopted and rent regulation is now the practice in Cambridge, Somerville, and Brookline. In addition, the legislature passed a separate bill permitting the control of rents in Boston by city council ordinance. Springfield has yet to adopt the State enabling law although, at the time of the open meeting, a committee of the city council was considering the issue. Boston has used rent regulation for the past 2 years, recently adding stronger measures for control. However, the success of Boston's rent control program was not a prime consideration of the open meeting. Most observers seem to view it as a small step in the right direction.

III. Public Housing

The major impediment for the Puerto Rican community, however, is that public housing is not a realistic alternative for low-income housing.

Public housing units and publicly assisted housing are scarce and the tenant admission policies make Puerto Rican occupancy difficult. The result is a lack of Puerto Rican beneficiaries in programs supposedly designed to benefit all poor Americans.

The Boston Housing Authority, the public housing agency of that city, manages 14,810 units, 4 percent of which are occupied by Puerto Ricans. Its counterpart, the Springfield Housing Authority, operates 1,230 units, 191 (15 percent) of which are rented by Puerto Rican families. As in private housing, Puerto Ricans prefer to live near friends and relatives. Most Puerto Ricans reside in just five projects in all of Boston and Springfield.

The language barrier is again a problem here. Its effect is to restrict Puerto Rican access to public housing. In both cities, fortunately, applications are now available in Spanish. However, in Springfield other publications, such as tenant handbooks and instructional material, are still printed only in English.

A more serious obstacle is the absence of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican personnel throughout both authorities. The Boston Housing Authority has only 11 Spanish speaking employees out of 800. Only five of the 11 have contact with the public--one assistant manager, two receptionists, and two tenant selection aides. None of them is Puerto Rican. Ironically, Spanish speaking applicants seem to be rejected because they cannot speak sufficient English to qualify for

employment. Rather than hiring Spanish speaking Puerto Ricans, the housing authority is appropriating additional funds to teach Spanish to their employees who come in daily contact with Puerto Rican tenants.

The Springfield Housing Authority may be doing a better job; one-fifth of the authority's 60 employees is Puerto Rican. However, only five of the Puerto Ricans are in administrative positions, including one project manager; the rest are in maintenance.

Improvements in agency personnel alone will be insufficient for the needs of Puerto Ricans. The existing policies and procedures of both the Springfield and Boston Housing Authorities make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a Spanish speaking Puerto Rican applicant to find satisfactory public housing.

One area of concern already alluded to is the need of Puerto Rican families for large apartments. Both cities have a shortage of four and five bedroom public housing units. Even if large public housing units were made available, there is no guarantee that the Puerto Ricans' housing problem would be solved. In Springfield, Puerto Rican families were housed in one project with a number of large units, but they soon returned to their old neighborhoods and to all of their cultural ties. According to the Springfield Housing Authority's Executive Director:

> The church wasn't in that area, and social activities certainly weren't in that area, and so that they weren't interested in that area. And therefore, four brand new units of four-bedroom size, one of three-bedroom size, families returned to the so-called Memorial Square section... .

In addition to the need for larger public housing units, the Springfield Housing Authority admitted that one of its problems is the under-representation of elderly Puerto Ricans in their senior citizen's units. Out of 535 units for the elderly under their management, there are only three tenants of Puerto Rican extraction. This situation may improve as new units for the elderly are built in the center of the Memorial Square area.

The Boston Housing Authority is also hampered by a HUD directive known as the "1,2,3 rule". The rule requires that an applicant must choose a unit in one of the three developments with the greatest number of vacancies. The original purpose of the rule was to encourage the integration of public housing. It has a twofold effect in Boston: (1) most Puerto Rican applicants are not placed in public housing; and (2) those that are so placed are concentrated in three housing projects which lack large units. They are also some distance from the Puerto Rican community. Thus, the Puerto Rican either must take an apartment located in an area he does not like or go to the bottom of the applicant's waiting list. Eventually, by rising to the top of the list, he will get a large apartment in the project of his choice--namely a project with a high Puerto Rican occupancy rate.

The Mission Hill Project with 138 vacancies is offered under the "1,2,3 rule". The project had only four four-bedroom units available. It was rejected by the applicants because the units are in a poor condition and Puerto Ricans do not live in Mission Hill.

Another housing project adjacent to the Puerto Rican community has 876 units, only six of which are occupied by Puerto Ricans. The operation of the "1,2,3 rule" is the reason for the low Puerto Rican occupancy rate.

BHA Administration

Puerto Ricans continually complain of long delays in application processing, lost applications, and general confusion. Israel Feliciano, a representative of the Boston Emergency Tenants Council (ETC), an indigenous group that concerns itself with housing problems, made a comparison between the BHA and slumlords:

> /Y/ou really have to put enough pressure into the landlord to really do the repairs on the house. Even so, you probably have to wait a little while he to do it, but at least, the slum landlord do cooperate a little more than the Boston Housing Authority.

Feliciano also reports that ETC has forwarded 300 applications to the authority from Spanish speaking applicants, and only a few of the 300 have been assigned to public housing. Instances of applications being lost by BHA, or confused with that of existing tenants, are not uncommon. ETC suggested that the authority number applications to prevent loss. BHA agreed and has been studying the matter for almost 2 years.

IV. Urban Renewal

Closely associated in the mind of the Puerto Rican with the public housing authority is the other urban housing agency, the redevelopment

authority, which administers urban renewal programs. Nothing disturbs minority communities more than the spectre of urban renewal and the "low-income" housing that is always projected to replace the current units in the area.

In Massachusetts, urban renewal responsibilities are divided between the State agency and redevelopment authorities in Boston and Springfield. The division of community development within the Massachusetts Department of Community Affairs administers the State aided public housing and urban renewal programs. These include the rental assistance program, the low-income family housing program, and the State assisted urban renewal program. The department does not have precise information indicating the impact of its program on the Puerto Rican population. The department conducts no annual census to determine who is living in housing which it sponsors, nor does it require local housing authorities to report the number of minority group residents occupying State financed units. In short, the State agency has no way of knowing whether its programs aid or discriminate against Puerto Ricans.

The local redevelopment authorities in Boston and Springfield are the agencies that clear the land and select developers for the 11 urban renewal projects currently under development in both cities.

The Springfield Redevelopment Authority (SRA) is now engaged in urban renewal activities in four areas of the city. Only one of these areas affects the Puerto Rican population to any extent. This is the Brightwood Project. Approximately 900 Puerto Ricans reside within the

area and they comprise approximately 37 percent of the population. The SRA also has a program of rehabilitation. They are now working with the owners of 250 structures containing more than 400 dwelling units, attempting to get them into good physical condition. Approximately 15 percent of the structures in which rehabilitation is now underway are owned by Spanish surnamed families. The actual number of Puerto Ricans in this group is unknown but is believed to be high.

Included within the Brightwood renewal section is the Riverview Public Housing Project, which has been a sore spot of the Springfield Housing Authority since its creation some years ago. The project is the perfect example of what a public housing project should not be. It has large high story units, lacks recreational facilities, is isolated from the center of the city, has no available public transportation, and lacks sufficient public schools, stores, and other supporting facilities needed within the area. At present, the majority of the tenants are Puerto Ricans.

Conscious of the poor planning and living conditions at the Riverview Housing Project, the Springfield Redevelopment Authority and the Springfield Housing Authority are in the process of modernizing the project and including it within the Brightwood renewal section.

The SRA has submitted an urban renewal plan to the Department of Housing and Urban Development in July 1970 for Memorial

Square with its 9,000 outdated and deteriorated units. HUD has not responded to SRA's request, possibly because of the Federal Agency's shortage of renewal funds :

Mr. Glick: (Deputy General Counsel, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights)	In the absence of the HUD grant, there is no State or local money available, and it would be 7 or 8 years before the neighboring Puerto Rican area of the city is renewed to be habitable?
Mr. Anderson: (SRA Executive Director)	That's correct, unless we can break loose some of those Federal funds that we have been unable to get in the past to deal with the neighborhood on a comprehensive basis.

The situation, therefore, remains desperate for the majority of the Puerto Rican community in the Memorial Square area.

The Boston Redevelopment Authority currently has only one program that would involve Puerto Ricans in any significant numbers. It is called Parcel 19. It is the largest development project in the South End. The proposal has three basic components, including the rehabilitation of existing structures. As it now stands, 100 units will be rehabilitated as housing for the elderly and between 300 and 400 units will be low-to moderate-income housing. The average three-bedroom unit means that many Puerto Rican families, because of their size, will not be able to benefit from this housing.

The BRA states that the greatest need in the South End is housing and the development of supporting facilities such as schools and playgrounds. There are currently 1,200 units under construction. There is

no school under construction but one is planned for completion by the end of the summer. However, there is no major playground or recreational facility currently under construction and none is planned for the future.

With massive urban renewal continuing in the South End, its effect on the Puerto Rican population should be of prime concern to the BRA. Not so, according to testimony of BRA officials. The following dialogue concerns the BRA efforts to monitor discrimination in the South End project:

Mr. Wilmore: (Director, Northeastern Field Office, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights)	You mean to tell me that the BRA can make the site available to a private developer, and for his 70 percent, if he chooses to, he can discriminate?
Mr. Walsh: (BRA)	No, I'm not saying that. What I'm saying is that those excess units which are not needed by the BRA for their tenants, the owner of the development can, in his own market, fill up those units.
Mr. Wilmore:	As long as he doesn't discriminate.
Mr. Walsh:	As long as he doesn't discriminate under applicable Federal law, which is more regulated by the Federal Housing Administration, more than the BRA.
Mr. Wilmore:	Then my question really is, what does the BRA do to assure that that sponsor does not discriminate ...
Mr. Walsh:	I don't think BRA has any jurisdiction over there.

The Puerto Rican community is one focus of urban renewal in Boston and Springfield today. The Boston picture suggests that the Parcel 19 Project will displace and scatter many current area residents. The responsible agencies maintain little information on Puerto Rican occupancy in the project structures or on the architectural needs of the community. In Springfield the Brightwood rehabilitation program shows signs of hope. Puerto Ricans do participate in it; and the effects on the community appear less drastic than Parcel 19. However, the slow pace of both cities in carrying out their urban renewal plans and the lack of statistical data relevant to Puerto Ricans cast doubt on the eventual outcome.

Summary

Housing agencies could do much more to assist Puerto Ricans. The use of applications and other literature written in Spanish, the employment of more Puerto Ricans and Spanish speaking people, and the consideration of the needs and effects of their programs on this community are essential actions that these agencies should already be taking. But, in the final analysis, the housing problems of Puerto Ricans are those of the poor, the racially discriminated against, and the new migrant to the urban North. Housing code enforcement and rent controls are stopgap measures. They are only useful for a short period of time until some national housing policy is implemented to reconcile the evils of racial markets, suburban flight, and urban decay with the unmet needs of minority and poor citizens for quality housing in the Nation.

Recommendations of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee:

1. That the State legislature revise the Massachusetts Sanitary Code, article II, minimum standard of fitness for human habitation, to require landlords to make adequate and safe repairs.
2. That the local housing task forces of Springfield and Boston form a special subcommittee to study in depth the problems of the Puerto Rican community, with adequate representation of Puerto Ricans on the subcommittee.
3. That local housing authorities increase their allocated budgets to improve maintenance service and social services programs.
4. That the city of Springfield adopt the rent control law for cities and towns enacted by the State legislature.
5. That the local housing authorities increase the number of public housing units with four or more bedrooms.
6. That the local housing authorities employ a representative number of Puerto Ricans, especially in public contact positions.
7. That the local housing authorities distribute to tenants and prospective tenants all materials in Spanish as well as English.
8. That the Springfield Housing Department increase the number of Puerto Rican inspectors.
9. That the Department of Housing and Urban Development allocate urban renewal funds for Memorial Square in Springfield.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL SERVICES

Welfare departments, Medicaid, and medical clinics are commonly thought synonomous with poverty in America today, and no institutions are more involved with the problems of the poor than hospitals and public assistance offices. For the Puerto Rican these institutions evoke the same emotions of hope and frustration that millions of their fellow poor have felt. The differences for the Puerto Rican can be defined in terms of their understanding of the operation of the system and the system's inability to overcome their language barrier.

The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee concentrated its scrutiny of social services upon the department of public welfare and the hospitals and health departments of Springfield and Boston. Again the open meeting revealed a serious situation blurred by a lack of statistics, and the inability of all concerned to communicate in English or Spanish with one another.

I. Public Welfare Administration.

"Puerto Rican Welfare Recipients in Massachusetts: An Exploration of Needs and Services", a 1970 study prepared by the Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis University concludes that the welfare system is inadequately serving the Puerto Rican poor:

> Our information suggests that on the whole the welfare department has not been taking the initiative in helping Puerto Rican families cope with a multiplicity of interlocking problems...

The open meetings confirmed this conclusion.

English speaking caseworkers have little understanding of the idiosyncracies of the Spanish language and little sensitivity to the problems of Puerto Ricans. The result is an attitude of contempt on the part of the caseworker and distrust as well as dislike on the part of the client. The Florence Heller School study found almost universal criticism toward the caseworker's attitude of treating clients as second-class people. The study also indicated that some clients were afraid to go to the welfare department because of the degrading treatment they feared from the social worker.

One of the highly acclaimed programs for increasing community involvement in the welfare department was a new careers program to train community residents for positions in the welfare department. The federally funded demonstration project was designed to train Puerto Ricans for para-professional positions. Two Puerto Ricans participating in the new careers program worked for DPW for 2 years. At that point they were required to take the civil service examination for a permanent position. Both failed. The new careers program claimed to prepare the trainees to take the civil service examination. However, it did not prepare Puerto Rican trainees to pass an examination in English.

Closely related to the language barrier is the claim that the Spanish speaking community is ill informed about the rules and their rights regarding welfare. The result is that prospective Spanish speaking applicants encounter longer delays in the processing of their applications than their English speaking counterparts. No information brochure explaining the rights and limitations of welfare recipients in Spanish has been offered to fill this need.

It is hard to determine how many Puerto Ricans have been unable to qualify for benefits because of language difficulties. The available statistics show that the number of Spanish speaking AFDC recipients is about one-fifth of the AFDC population. Whether there are "missing" families in need but not included in AFDC cannot be readily documented. (See Fig. 6. See Also Fig. 7 for special Springfield breakdown on Puerto Rican welfare recipients.)

One known side effect of the inability to communicate is the failure of many Puerto Rican families to receive supplemental benefits. Under its flat grant system, Massachusetts has a "30-day rule" that requires welfare families to apply for a household and furniture supplemental benefit within 30 days of their arrival in Massachusetts. The rule has the effect of currently barring many Puerto Rican families from the available benefits. Unaware of the rule, many families wait beyond the 30 days to set up their own apartments only to find that no supplement is available.

Puerto Ricans also complain that the welfare budget does not account for certain unique cultural patterns. Specifically, the budget is inadequate for large Puerto Rican families. It also affects the traditional diet of the people. Puerto Ricans customarily eat three hot meals, as opposed to the American pattern of a sandwich lunch. The need for more substantial meals and the related need to purchase foodstuffs at the local Spanish stores are added expenses for the Puerto Rican family. Attempts to bring this to the attention of DPW and effect a change have been futile so far.

II. Health Care Services

In the field of health care services, the communication gap was again the main topic of discussion. The language barrier limits the Puerto Rican more than any other consumer of health services, isolating him from the providers of health care in the community. The language barrier accounts for such behavior as broken appointments, late registration for prenatal care, interruption of immunization series, misunderstanding of clinic and treatment instructions, and extreme suffering of both parents and children when separation is needed for hospitalization. Two examples of such situations were given by a Puerto Rican witness at the hearing:

> [L]et's say, a pregnant lady can say I have hurt pains, her interpreter says heart burns. The interpreter can say constipation, so the lady gets a laxative instead of medication to relieve the inconvenience of the heartburn.

Or consider the case of Manuel Trinidad:

> One day this man entered a hospital complaining of a sore head. He was treated for superficial cuts and bruises and released. A few days later he was found semiconscious on the street, arrested, and charged with drunkenness. Later that evening he was rushed to a hospital where he died of a fractured skull. It was later learned that the symptoms of this particular type of fracture resemble intoxication.

The health of Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States is a sad commentary on the state of modern American medicine. Some indication of the enormity of their health problem can be found in a 1969 study conducted by Boston City Hospital's outpatient division. A target population of 1,500 Puerto Ricans was studied to identify their health care needs. The following patterns emerged:

(a) Infant mortality among Puerto Ricans in the South End of Boston is six times as high as in the affluent suburb of Milton, Massachusetts;

(b) Premature births ran 12.5 percent among the group studies as opposed to 5.7 percent for Boston as a whole;

(c) Nearly 100 percent of the Puerto Rican families operate on a substandard health level, as compared with ordinary standards;

(d) There is literally no home health care given to the Puerto Rican in Boston, the only health care being in the emergency clinics.

In Boston and Springfield the testimony revealed a failure of area hospitals--both public and private--to serve the needs of the Puerto Rican community. The evidence supporting this conclusion is twofold. It includes the medical treatment given the Spanish speaking community by these institutions and the employment picture at the hospitals.

A. Springfield

Three Springfield hospitals serve the predominantly Puerto Rican Spanish speaking community: Springfield Hospital, Mercy Hospital, and Wesson Women's Hospital. These three hospitals receive from 43 to 55 percent of their budgets from public funds. The total budget for the three was $28,861,000 in 1970. Yet a strong case can be made for alleging discrimination against Puerto Ricans in the distribution of those public funds. Puerto Ricans were not prime recipients of medical services from these three institutions. Springfield Hospital reported that only 2 to 3 percent of its inpatients and 30 to 40 percent of those receiving emergency treatment are Spanish speaking. Mercy Hospital estimated that 34 percent of its patients, excluding inpatients, are Spanish. And Wesson Hospital reports that only 5 percent of all admissions are Puerto Rican. (See Fig. 8.)

Nor are the three Springfield hospitals any better in the employment of Puerto Ricans. Eighteen Puerto Ricans are employed out of the hospitals' total work force of 3,023--a little less than .6 percent. At the writing of this report, Springfield still had no Puerto Rican doctors, although seven claimed to speak Spanish fluently.

While there are five staff psychiatrists associated with the Springfield hospitals, none is capable of attending to the needs of the city's 20,000 Spanish speaking residents.

The one ray of hope in this otherwise dismal picture is the city's Riverview Clinic. Based on an outreach model, its present clientele is 60 percent Spanish speaking, mostly Puerto Rican. It handles between 300 and 400 visits each month. The clinic is staffed by a number of local health agencies on a cooperative basis. Its staff is principally Spanish speaking with Springfield Hospital, Wesson Women's Hospital, the department of public health, the Springfield Parapsychiatric Training Program, and Planned Parenthood, among others, providing staff. But there is no Federal funding for the clinic at present and its budget consists of agency contributions and the fees of patients, most of whom are Medicaid recipients A grant application has been made for a Head Start grant through HEW to initiate a preschool health program in the Riverview area. No action has yet been taken on the application.

B. Boston

Boston prides itself on being the medical hub of New England, if not the Nation and the world. Thus an awareness of problems that exist, as well as programs designed to meet these needs was to be expected. Unfortunately, both knowledge and approaches were comparable to those found in Springfield. Hospitals serving the Boston Spanish speaking community, foremost among them the Boston City Hospital (BCH), have failed the Spanish speaking patients. Qualified professionals

are lacking, and data quantifying Puerto Rican access to city health facilities are admittedly unavailable from the department of health and hospitals.

The relationship between the hospital and the Puerto Rican community is not good. If the city health authorities are really concerned about the health of Puerto Ricans, their absence from the May open meetings and their failure to respond fully to Commission staff inquiries before August 19, 1971, do not auger well for their newly found involvement. The frustration of the community was apparent in the statement of one community spokesman: "Boston City Hospital in lots of ways has almost said that there is no Puerto Rican community here, that there is no Puerto Rican problem.... Puerto Ricans die and they're expected to die because they're Puerto Rican."

Again and again the focus of the inquiry returns to staff and statistics. Boston City Hospital is <u>the</u> municipal hospital in the city of Boston. Its 1971 budget totals $52 million. This consists of approximately $37 million in Federal and State funds--or more than 70 percent of its budget. BCH employs 4,998 staff members. There are no Puerto Rican staff physicians, no nurses, only one Puerto Rican social worker and one administrator. To care for the city's 50,000 Spanish speaking people, Boston City Hospital employs four full-time interpreters.

The percentage of Puerto Rican patients treated by BCH is unknown. It is estimated that 20 percent are Spanish speaking. No breakdown for inpatients or outpatient services is available. Being a new patient at Boston City Hospital is an extremely difficult experience for a

non-English speaking person. One community worker described it for the Committee:

> A person going in for the beginning, let's say a hospital card, has to have either someone out of school to come in to interpret for them because they cannot speak English. If they don't have an interpreter, they have to wait for someone to come by to interpret just for a card. From there they have to go wherever they're going in the clinic, and that means more waiting because then upstairs, or wherever they're going, they have to find an interpreter.

Others report long waits for a doctor, and inadequate medical treatment.

Boston is famous as a center of medical education. Yet the Committee heard that Boston hospitals are not equipped to deal with tropical diseases affecting many Puerto Ricans, nor are doctors trained in diagnosing them. On the average, it takes one month to obtain the proper medicines from Puerto Rico to give any kind of treatment.

Rather than undergoing such hardships at Boston City Hospital, many Puerto Ricans prefer the community clinics. Among the few at present responsive to the Spanish speaking community in Boston, the South End Health Clinic and the Pediatrics and Prenatal Clinic stand out. These are community health clinics composed mainly of Spanish speaking staff. Although limited by staff and funds, these two clinics appear to have succeeded in eliminating much of the language barrier. Although they are located in Boston's South End, Spanish speaking patients come to them from several other sections, including

Roxbury and Dorchester. If the city's department of health and hospitals could follow the lead of these clinics, nominally under the department's charge, some of the friction in hospital-community relations could be diminished.

The problems of health turn around the language barrier. However, for some reason, the medical profession has been extremely slow in recognizing and attacking this obstacle. As a professional group, these medical men can conquer malaria and yellow fever. But at the same time, the profession is unable to diagnose a tropical disease from the symptoms displayed by a 6 year old Puerto Rican in the South End. Statistics depicting delivery of services to Puerto Ricans are usually absent or incomplete. Even without adequate data, one sees a pattern of poor use of hospitals by the Puerto Rican community. With a dismal lack of Spanish speaking or Puerto Rican doctors, nurses, and para-professionals, such results can be expected. Unable to communicate his affliction and frustrated by long waits, the Puerto Rican looks for the overburdened friendly clinic or goes without medical treatment altogether.

If some progress is possible, the success of the neighborhood clinics in Boston and Springfield exemplifies the right approach. The city hospitals and other medical institutions should study and duplicate whatever they are doing.

Summary

While no great solution to the health problems of the Puerto Rican poor is feasible today, it is essential to offer a better share of the services now available to the rest of America's poor citizens. The system of Medicaid, Medicare, medical clinics, and neighborhood health centers can and should do a better job for Puerto Ricans than it does now.

Recommendations of The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee:

1. That the Governor appoint a committee to deal with health problems of the Puerto Rican in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The mandate of the committee would be:

    a. To survey available data on the health conditions of the Puerto Rican and design programs to meet these identified needs with the active participation of Puerto Rican community leaders;

    b. To explore sources for funding programs;

    c. To work closely with the Massachusetts State Legislature, Board of Registration, the Office of Employment Security, professional organizations such as the American Medical Association (AMA), the National Medical Association (NMA), and centers of higher education to encourage the licensing of more Spanish speaking health professionals in the Commonwealth.

2. That the department of public welfare create the position of director of Spanish speaking affairs to coordinate all programs for Spanish speaking people and establish a direct channel for communications between the department and the local bodies serving the Spanish speaking clients.

3. That the department of public welfare establish an arrival center booth where immigrant Puerto Rican families can receive basic information about housing, jobs, health resources, schooling, English classes, and social and recreational activities and be given any immediate emergency aid they require. This program should be manned by Puerto Rican personnel.
4. That information brochures and pamphlets in Spanish explaining the rights and limitations of welfare applicants be offered to the Spanish speaking community to provide the information and guidance that are now lacking.
5. That the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare notify the civil service commission that examinations for social work positions should be available in Spanish.
6. That the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare improve its Spanish speaking staff resources by:

    a. Hiring more Spanish speaking, particularly Puerto Rican, workers and social service technicians, including an exchange program with the University of Puerto Rico School of Social Work and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Department of Social Services ;

    b. Training all staff to understand the unique aspects of Puerto Rican clients, including familiarity with their culture and values and problems of adaptation to the mainland.

7. That training programs which provide para-professional personnel for the department of welfare formulate their curriculum toward preparing Spanish speaking people for the civil service examination.
8. That the Boston Department of Health and Hospitals and the Springfield Department of Health actively recruit Spanish speaking health professionals from Puerto Rico and from other areas of large Spanish speaking populations and, if necessary, seek certification requirements which would include field training in lieu of the present academic requirements.
9. That the Boston Department of Health and Hospitals and other participating hospitals provide additional staff and funding for community health clinics to enable expansion into other services as well as to increase services to a 24-hour basis.
10. That public and proprietary hospitals in Boston and Springfield equip themselves to deal with problems of tropical diseases; and that they provide interpreters so that Spanish speaking patients may utilize the full range of available health services.
11. That the local hospitals and health departments cooperate with the local antipoverty programs in establishing additional social work technician training programs for Puerto Rican trainees.
12. That the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare modify the "30-day rule" concerning household expenses to allow Spanish speaking families up to 1 year to receive such payments.
13. That the department of public welfare and the State legislature consider modification of the flat grant system to allow for the special needs of Spanish speaking Aid for Dependent Children recipients.

14. That the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in the Department of Labor, under Executive Order 11246, conduct an investigation of the employment practices of public or private hospitals which are under contract with the Federal Government.
15. That the civil rights division of HEW conduct an investigation under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to determine whether proprietary and public hospitals receiving Hill-Burton funds have an adequate representation of Spanish speaking employees at the professional level.
16. That HEW establish a grant program to universities in the area and the University of Puerto Rico to attract Puerto Rican and other Spanish speaking persons to the various areas of the medical profession.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANTIPOVERTY AND MODEL CITIES PROGRAMS

The war on poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Model Cities Program, and the Demonstration Cities Act of 1966 were created by Congress to improve the inadequate services being given to poor people in such areas as health, housing, manpower development, education, and welfare. The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reviewed these Agencies to determine their specific impact upon the needy Puerto Rican community.

Focusing on antipoverty and model cities programs in Boston and Springfield, the Committee determined that these programs were not adequately meeting the needs of the Puerto Rican community.

I. Community Action Agencies

The community action programs are the agencies headed by representatives of the poor that administer the war on poverty. Massachusetts has 24 such community action agencies (CAA) primarily funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Of these 24, seven agencies reported to the Committee as having no activities involving Spanish Americans (Berkshire, Cape Cod, Eastern Middlesex, Fall River, Franklin, Gloucester, and Quincy). Of the 17 community action agencies having programs involving the Spanish speaking poor, the two most important are those in Boston and Springfield.

The 17 CAAs involving the Spanish speaking community report 570 board members governing their programs. Of these 570, only 18 are Spanish speaking (3.2 percent). Out of a total of 2,298 staff in the 17 agencies, there are 173 (7.5 percent) who are Spanish speaking. Legal Services is one program funded by OEO. At present, none of the State's legal services programs have any Hispanic attorneys.

The war on poverty in Springfield and Boston is waged by the Springfield Action Commission and Action for Boston Community Development respectively. Neither of the antipoverty agencies is equitably delivering its services in manpower, health, and education to the Puerto Rican community. The percentage of their Spanish speaking clientele is proportionately less than the percentage of the Spanish speaking population of both cities. From the statements presented to the Committee by antipoverty officials and community persons and organizations, the programs seem to be predominantly directed to the black community. This unbalanced delivery of services is accentuated by the low percentage of Spanish speaking personnel in high administrative and policy making positions within each of the antipoverty agencies.

A. Springfield

The Springfield Action Commission (SAC) is governed by a board of directors which determines what programs are to be undertaken, and where these programs should function. The 21-member board is comprised of seven members appointed by the mayor, seven appointed by civic and

community agencies, and seven elected from target areas. Of the three Spanish speaking representatives on the board, two were elected and one was appointed by a community agency.

Puerto Ricans are not well represented in the programs or staff positions of SAC either. Springfield Action Commission has an annual budget of $2,521,743 parcelled out among five major programs and administration:

(A)	Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)	$1,635,459
(B)	Neighborhood Legal Services	105,531
(C)	Head Start	113,000
(D)	Northern Educational Service	85,000
(E)	Neighborhood Youth Corps	158,400
(F)	Springfield Action Commission	201,025

In the six areas, SAC employs 174 persons; only 26 are Puerto Rican. Included in the total are 26 administrative positions, none of which is held by Puerto Ricans. (See Figures 9 and 10)

1. Head Start

Considering funding available for poverty programs, the Puerto Rican community is also on the short end of an already small stick. One of the more glaring examples is the Head Start program. With a population of roughly 15,000 Spanish speaking persons in Springfield and a school age population of approximately 1,500, the Head Start program, with a yearly budget of $113,000, has only two Puerto Rican children in it. Part of the blame must rest with the program administrators in Springfield. The Springfield Action Commission, under OEO

regulations, determines the program content, hires teachers, and selects pupils. Considering the large number of Puerto Rican children under 6, it is hard to believe that the low numbers are attributable to an absence of youngsters. (See p. 16)

2. Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)

Head Start is not the only example of the SACs inability to include Puerto Ricans in their programs. While the predominantly black board and staff may have made progress in the black community, the Spanish community has been shut out. A serious bone of contention is the concentrated employment program (CEP). The SAC-administered CEP, receiving $1,635,459 a year from the Department of Labor, is set up to train and develop basic working skills among the economically deprived. Over the last 3 years, CEP has been able to place 150 persons on jobs; only two were Spanish speaking. CEP is simply not geared to non-English speaking trainees.

CEP does not have adequate language laboratory facilities where personnel can teach its Spanish speaking clientele English through a bilingual method. The methods being used are outmoded. It takes a non-English speaking person from 2 to 3 years to master English when it is taught for only an hour a day. As a result, the percentage of Puerto Ricans dropping out of the CEP program is high.

3. Division of Hispanic Affairs

The Puerto Rican community thought that the Springfield Action Commission was moving in the right direction when it established a division of Hispanic affairs so that Spanish speaking people could

unite and implement their own program in cooperation with the Commission. However, it now appears that this move was more show than substance. While the division is headed by a director, the director of Hispanic affairs reports to another director rather than the SAC board. The Hispanic affairs director has no power to initiate programs and his salary is less than that of other directors. The division of Hispanic affairs, with a $50,000 budget, in fact, falls within CEP's $1,635,459 budget. Furthermore, the division is inadequately staffed and funded to serve the needs of the Spanish speaking community in Springfield.

Faced with such a picture, it seemed fair to conclude that the division of Hispanic affairs had been subsumed within CEP.

But that conclusion was challenged at the open meeting discussion.

Mr. Wells (SAC) :.....Hispanic affairs happens to be a program under the deputy of operations, because he gets paid out of the Concentrated Employment Program budget.

Mr. Guerra:.....You have the Hispanic affairs director, and then there is a deputy director...
(Attorney, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights)

Mr. Rodriguez:.....But you're saying basically, he's under a deputy.

Mr. Wells:.....He falls under a deputy.

Mr. Rodriguez:.....And is responsible to that deputy?

Mr. Wells:.....Right!

In the total reorganization, there is no director of CEP. SAC has been--SAC and CEP are one body. You, in principle can say, yes, there will be a Spanish affairs director.

But this line of reasoning is not likely to satisfy the urgent needs of the Puerto Rican community.

Puerto Ricans will not trust the Springfield Action Commission until the director of Hispanic affairs has policy powers in the SAC hierarchy and until SAC programs attempt to meet the needs of the Spanish speaking community. The feeling is that Puerto Ricans are not getting their fair share of the pie. Until these attitudes are changed, the poor community of Springfield will continue to be too poorly united to wage a war against common poverty.

B. Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD)

The relations between Boston's ABCD and the Puerto Rican community were better than that of SAC. The open animosity present in Springfield was lacking,though Puerto Ricans uniformly felt that ABCD was dragging its feet on programming and employment.

ABCD is Boston's official antipoverty agency. Its board of directors consists of 51 members, three of whom are Spanish speaking. Two of the Spanish speaking members are designated representatives of the Spanish population, while the third sits as the only Spanish speaking person to be elected by the poor community.

Employment of Spanish speaking by ABCD is also rather thin, although there have been improvements. At the time of the open meeting 69 Spanish speaking employees, representing 6 percent of ABCD's work force, were on the payroll. (Recent correspondence places the figure at 7.1 percent.)

ABCD is taking steps to improve these statistics. The agency recruits from local sources in Boston, and also from New York and Puerto Rico. Until recruitment is ample, ABCD has appointed special assistants in manpower, administration, and Head Start to work especially in Spanish speaking areas.

The structure of ABCD, however, requires it to do more. ABCD claims to be a decentralized antipoverty agency with some decisionmaking resting with the local APAC's and delegate agencies. If Puerto Rican and Spanish speaking people are to receive benefits from ABCD, they should particpate fully in the delegate agencies. The ABCD budget reveals the scope and emphasis of the programming of ABCD and its delegate agencies. But the dollar amounts fail to show the impact of these Federal dollars on the Puerto Rican community. (See Fig. 11.) One measure is the amount of salaries going to Puerto Ricans. ABCD can only report a payroll budget for Spanish speaking employees totalling $610,000. If the total budget of $22 million represents mainly salaries, this is not a very commendable accomplishment.

Another figure to consider is the program budget directed to the Spanish speaking community. This figure represents the budgets of the South End APAC (SNAP) and APCROSS (Association for Promotion of Constitutional Rights of Spanish Speaking). Thus, a rough estimate indicates that 5 to 6 percent of ABCD's $22 million is aimed at the Spanish population. If part of the budget of the Columbia Point Clinic and the Roxbury Multiservice Center is included, both serving

this population to some extent, we get a maximum figure of perhaps 8 to 10 percent. Such a figure may be geared to the Spanish speaking population of Boston, but it most certainly falls short when one realizes that this community represents about one-fifth of the city's 150,000 poor residents.

A truer picture of services to the Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican communities may be possible by examining the use made by the community of various ABCD programs. Figure 11 would suggest that the Spanish speaking community makes limited use of most ABCD functions. As in Springfield, a major complaint was directed at Head Start.

1. Head Start

Head Start's difficulties in Boston are attributable to its decentralized character. The 16 APACs are responsible for both the recruitment of children and the selection of staff. In 1970 there were only 81 Spanish speaking children in the program. At the time of the open meeting, 116 out of 1,300 children were enrolled. ABCD has also hired 18 bilingual staff members, published a manual in Spanish, and set aside several seats on the citywide policy council for Spanish residents.

ABCD appears to be moving in the right direction statistically. 1/

1/ No accurate statistics are available. At the open meeting Robert Coard of ABCD reported the "116" figure. An ABCD staff report gives a higher figure of "267" out of 1,467 children for 1971. The discrepancy is not accounted for. (See Fig. 11.)

Hopefully, the Puerto Rican children will now benefit from this important preschool program.

2. Job Training Programs

The Puerto Rican community also expressed doubts about ABCDs efforts in job training and placement. Because Boston was designated as a "target area", all Federal manpower programs have been operated under ABCDs umbrella. The Puerto Rican community felt that ABCDs neighborhood employment centers (NECs) were assisting black residents at the expense of the Spanish speaking poor. Aware of this deficiency, ABCD has hired 26 new bilingual staff for the NECs The programs now serve 20,000 applicants, of which 25 percent are Spanish speaking. Referrals to NAB jobs have also increased. During the 6-month period prior to February 1971, 95 of ABCDs 536 referrals were Spanish speaking.

Because of ABCDs role in administering the employment outreach programs in Boston over the past few years, a substantial part of the blame for the failure of these programs to assist Puerto Ricans must be borne by the antipoverty agency. In the past, Puerto Ricans were the odd men out with high unemployment and no access to job training. Now ABCD has made a start, and its success will be determined by the number of Puerto Rican NEC trainees who leave the training programs for a permanent employment opportunity.

II. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)

Most of the Advisory Committee time in Springfield and Boston has been spent reviewing the policies of the local antipoverty agencies. However, attention was also given to the officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity. These officials, divorced from community struggles for jobs and programs, dispense the funds that are a major source of contention. OEO neither intervenes to suggest more equitable distribution of funds, nor does it encourage proposals from Puerto Rican groups seeking direct funding. OEO seems to prefer inaction to waging a war against poverty among Puerto Ricans. Nothing demonstrated the new OEO philosophy more than the response of its regional director.

Miss Handy: (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights)	Is it still the procedure,as it was at one time, for you to go into an area and develop a program without writing your own proposal for that area?
Mr. Fulton: (OEO Director)	The days of OEO organizing new organizations, helping to promote new organizations to receive our funds are kind of over. We are not promoting new community action agencies or doing very much to organize other kinds of agencies to receive OEO funds.

Thus, OEO is implicitly leaving the Puerto Rican community no option but to battle with the black-controlled poverty agencies for a better share of the already insufficient pie.

III. Model Cities

If the war on poverty is in trouble in Massachusetts, the same can be said for the effort to build a model neighborhood. The Massachusetts Model Cities programs follow the lead of the community action agencies in inadequate funding and a lack of qualified

Spanish speaking staff. Considering the massive benefits that could be available to the Puerto Rican community, this is a serious loss.

Half the model cities' funds spent in New England are marked for Massachusetts. The $22 million is distributed to nine Massachusetts cities in the following amounts:

BOSTON	$7,718,000	LYNN	$1,502,000
CAMBRIDGE	1,523,000	NEW BEDFORD	2,109,000
FALL RIVER	1,952,000	SPRINGFIELD	2,091,000
HOLYOKE	1,168,000	WORCESTER	2,125,000
LOWELL	1,750,000		

Translating dollars into people, we find that the model neighborhoods due to receive these funds are predominantly black or white. The rough estimates given by HUD prior to the availability of the 1970 census data are the following:

BOSTON	57% black 10-20% Puerto Rican	CAMBRIDGE	10% black 5% or less Puerto Rican
FALL RIVER	less than 1% black or Puerto Rican	HOLYOKE	16% black 21% Puerto Rican
LOWELL	less than 1% black or Puerto Rican	LYNN	less than 1% black or Puerto Rican
NEW BEDFORD	40% black 5% Puerto Rican	SPRINGFIELD	75% black 2% Puerto Rican
WORCESTER	17% black 7% Puerto Rican		

The Puerto Rican community is often deeply frustrated by its geographic exclusion from model cities programs. A Boston Model Cities staff report stated that: "The Spanish speaking resident is experiencing alienation similar to that experienced by blacks before

some effort was made to include them in decision making and planning for their community ... At the present time, model city programs are failing to meet the needs of the area's Spanish speaking community."

The HUD guidelines are a prime factor which discourage the inclusion of the Spanish speaking communities. They require the following:

1. The addition must meet all statutory requirements for a model neighborhood area.
2. The additional area must be a blighted area.
3. The city must assure HUD of the impact on the total areas without increased supplemental funds.
4. There is no reasonable doubt that the city has the capacity to plan for and to operate in the larger neighborhood thus proposed.

With model city funds in such short supply, no city will risk its present funding to attempt to comply with such stringent criteria. In Massachusetts, only the boundaries of the New Bedford Model Neighborhood area have been expanded. There, as a result of substantial community pressure, the boundaries were increased by 25 percent to include black and Portuguese minorities following the riots of 1970. No boundaries have been altered to increase the representation of Spanish speaking minorities.

Nor does HUD possess the knowledge to initiate such boundary changes itself. The Federal Agency has no requirement that local model cities administrations report back the ethnic and racial breakdown of those using program services.

A. Springfield

Springfield exemplified one example of the deficiencies in the current operation of the model cities program. When the model neighborhood boundaries were determined in 1968, Springfield had few Puerto Rican residents. Today, the model neighborhood still has few Puerto Ricans, while the city's Spanish speaking population has jumped to 20,000. The ethnic breakdown of the 18,500 model neighborhood residents is 7 percent black, but only 2 percent Puerto Rican. The model city agency has no ongoing program that would serve these few model cities residents. In short, Puerto Ricans receive no benefits from the $2,091,000 of annual model cities funds. The regional administration of model cities suggested that "Springfield can, if it wishes, under the guidelines already stated, increase its model neighborhood areas." Considering the guidelines and the attitude of the city of Springfield, as manifested by its failure to send a model cities spokesman to the open hearing it may be a long wait.

B. Boston

In Boston, the model neighborhood at least includes Puerto Ricans, even if the numbers are low. The Boston Model City has, within its geographic boundaries, a population of approximately 63,000 people. The racial and ethnic breakdown of the area is as follows: 56 percent black, 32 percent white, and 12 percent Puerto Rican. Most of the Puerto Ricans in the model cities area had previously been forced to

leave Boston's South End due to urban renewal projects within the area. They came into the model cities area not by choice, but by necessity.

The Spanish speaking community is the fastest growing minority population in the model cities area. If the present demographic trend continues, the Spanish speaking population will achieve majority status within 5 to 8 years.

Such a trend is probably the only way the Puerto Rican population of the model neighborhood will increase, because the city is opposed to altering present boundaries. Its argument is that the present budget only allocates $150 per each area resident. Any expansion would, therefore, further weaken abilities to overcome some of the problems of the existing model neighborhood.

Since larger boundaries are out of the question, the alternative is to seek changes in the program content and staff of the model cities agency to assure the Spanish speaking population a fair share of model cities benefits. The 18-member model cities board currently numbers only two elected Puerto Rican representatives. Since members are elected from six districts in the model neighborhood, the success of future Puerto Rican candidates will depend upon the size of these districts. A continuation of the existing districts could exclude the growing Puerto Rican community from further representation.

The model cities staff of 250 is also in need of Puerto Rican employees. Only nine present staff members are Puerto Ricans and only one is in an administrative position. Between the executive director, five assistant directors, one deputy administrator, and 12 project

directors, the director of the drug program is the only Spanish speaking administrator.

In most of the programs sponsored by the model cities agency, Spanish speaking participation is less than it might be statistically. According to the model city administration, over 40 percent of the children of Spanish families in the model neighborhood are of preschool age, as compared wit. 4 percent for white families and 26 percent for black families. Yet there are no Spanish speaking children registered in the one day care center now operating under contract with the model cities administration, and none in the other publicly funded day care center in the area. Another example is the drug project (F.I.R.S.T.), serving a total number of 147 persons, of whom only one was Spanish speaking.

Health and mental health are critical areas for the Puerto Rican population. However, the model cities mental health program, with a yearly budget of $30,200, serves a total number of 729 patients, 30 of whom are Spanish speaking.

A partial explanation for the failure of Spanish speaking residents to take advantage of the model cities programs is the fact that there is no agency within the model cities area which currently offers intake and referral services, case work, group work, outreach, and community organizing services relevant to the Puerto Rican community. In response to this need, ABCD and the Spanish speaking community began work on a solution. The Boston Spanish Alliance Planning Center, a community organization of model neighborhood Spanish speaking residents, has now proposed a $350,000 multiservice

center to provide the community with health, education, employment, legal services, and housing assistance. The proposal has been approved by the model cities administration and the city council. It now awaits funding by HUD. Hopefully the multiservice center will not become another bitter disappointment for Boston's Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican people.

Summary

It was a sad day in the history of American civil rights when the populist movement at the turn of the century was destroyed by racial bigotry. The attempt to divide poor white from poor black by appealing to man's prejudices was eminently successful in that era. It would be equally sad today if the black and Puerto Rican minorities became adversaries rather than allies because of the shortsighted actions of antipoverty and model cities officials.

Some will suggest that blame should be spread and in some part assigned to OEO and HUD -- the Federal officials responsible for these programs. By failing to develop projects designed by and for the Spanish speaking community and by failing to pressure local programs into making such decisions, the Federal Government is to some degree guilty.

But such blame tends to shift the spotlight to Washington and away from the neighborhoods of the black and Puerto Rican poor. If equality is to become a reality, minorities are the first who should espouse it. The black directors and staffers should examine their positions, and then open the benefits of these programs and the power to make policy

to their Puerto Rican neighbors. The result may well be that all concerned will have to share an already small pie. But the alternative of no pie or a racially divided pie would, in the long run, be no boon for either blacks or Puerto Ricans.

Recommendations of The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee:

1. That the local community action programs and model neighborhood boards increase the number of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican board members so that the boards will be representative of all segments of the community, especially the poverty areas.
2. That HUD investigate the boundaries of model cities programs in Massachusetts so that these areas will be representative.
3. That the Office of Economic Opportunity make a thorough investigation of Region I to determine whether all community action agencies are delivering adequate services to the Puerto Rican community and other Spanish speaking groups.
4. That Region I of OEO recruit Spanish speaking professionals and subprofessionals and that Region I staff offer technical and administrative assistance to Spanish community groups and community action programs seeking to develop Spanish oriented projects.
5. That the local community action programs and model cities administrations employ representative numbers of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican employees, especially in policy making positions and legal services programs.

6. That the Springfield Action Commission's Director of Hispanic Affairs be raised to the position of deputy director of the agency, with appropriate salary, staff, and direct responsibility to the executive director.
7. That the Springfield Action Commission make an affirmative effort to recruit and place Puerto Ricans through its Concentrated Employment Program by hiring bilingual staff and developing a bilingual curriculum.
8. That the multiservice center proposed by the Boston Spanish Alliance Planning Center, and approved by the model cities administration and the city council, be fully funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

CHAPTER SIX

FEDERAL ENFORCEMENT

I. Introduction

In response to the protest by all minority groups against second-class citizenship, the Federal Government has become increasingly concerned about the rights of minorities. The Commission's October 1970, The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort report examined the enforcement of civil rights by Federal Agencies in the Nation's Capital. As stated in the Commission's report : "A variety of problems common to most Agencies with civil rights responsibilities has prevented full utilization of these laws and has virtually impeded them from achieving their goals." This general criticism of Federal civil rights enforcement becomes even more acute when applied to the enforcement of civil rights of Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speaking citizens. One conclusion is that the Federal Government has displayed little leadership in securing civil rights for Puerto Ricans in Massachusetts.

The national report found a lack of civil rights staff, a lack of civil rights planning, a lack of data to determine compliance, and a failure to coordinate enforcement efforts. In the New England Federal Region I, administered from Boston, this pattern was investigated and verified. The focus here was the Federal Regional Council.

II. The Federal Regional Council

The Council is a recently created Federal effort composed of the five major human resource Departments (HEW, HUD, DOT, DOL and OEO).

Because of their extensive responsibility, power, and access to Federal funding, the regional directors of each of the five Federal Agencies were invited to testify at the open meeting.

A. Enforcement

Even though the New England Federal Regional Council is aware of the problems of the Puerto Rican and other Spanish speaking residents within the area, its efforts must be improved if it wants credibility in the Spanish speaking community. (Specifically, the Committee found deficiencies in many areas examined on a national level in the Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort.)

One complaint voiced by the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee was the lack of statistical information concerning the Puerto Ricans. Throughout the Committee's investigation, it was an arduous process to obtain from Federal Agencies racial and ethnic statistics on program beneficiaries and amounts of money spent on programs benefiting Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speaking groups. Whether the issue be Puerto Rican children in Head Start, or the number in public housing, the statistics were always difficult to obtain.

A second deficiency found in New England concerned compliance techniques. In most instances, the Federal Agencies have been passive in fulfilling their civil rights responsibilities toward Spanish speaking persons. They rely mainly or entirely upon the receipt of complaints as the indicator of civil rights compliance. HUD has been a prime offender, as indicated by the testimony of HUD representatives at the open meeting:

> [B]ut we cannot go out and create complaints. The people have got to bring the complaints to us.

Closely tied to a reliance on complaints is the lack of sufficient staff to carry out Federal Agencies' civil rights responsibilities. The lack of staff was vividly described by one Federal official:

> ...I'd like to point out that we have one man on assisted program compliance work. And by that I mean not either housing complaints or contract compliance.... Now you just imagine how many renewal, model cities, 236 Housing Authorities we have in New England. And for Washington to pass a law such as Title VI in 1964, and say, sure we have a law and we have men enforcing it, and I'm the first one to admit that a great deal of it is window dressing, frankly, having one man to cover New England.

With one man enforcing Title VI in all New England, it is not surprising that HUD relies on complaints.

There is a lack of coordination among Federal Agencies in Boston and Springfield concerning programming beneficial to the Puerto Rican community. Major Federal Agencies like HEW, OEO, HUD, and Labor have overlapping programs that are administered without any coordination. Until recently the OEO and HEW "health people" in Boston were developing similar projects without ever having met to talk about a common approach. It is the objective of the Federal Regional Council to avoid such failures in the future.

B. Employment

One of the big problems with the Federal effort in New England to assist the Spanish speaking community is the lack of Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican employees. From information pieced together in the open meeting and subsequent conversations, an employment profile for five

Federal Agencies has been developed. A total of 30 Spanish speaking and Puerto Rican employees is on a Region I staff of 4,800. (See Figure 12.)

Summary

In the wake of the Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort, the findings of the open meeting on the Federal regional effort are not "news". Essentially, these findings conform on a regional level and, as applied to the Puerto Rican situation, reinforce an already disheartening national pattern. Little more can be said at this point that would add to the existing findings and recommendations of that report.

There is hope for Federal Region I, though, in the forward-looking approach of the Federal Regional Council. Besides the establishment of the Council, Region I has moved to create the Spanish Speaking Institute. If the Federal Government's record is to be improved, this is the ideal area to begin by enforcing the provisions and the spirit of the Nation's civil rights laws.

Recommendations of The Massachusetts State Advisory Committee:

1. That the New England Federal Regional Council make an aggressive effort to increase the number of Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speaking employees within their individual agencies, especially in policy making positions.
2. That the New England Federal Regional Council, in its efforts to be more responsive to the problems of minority groups, assign a special assistant to the chairman of the council to coordinate, direct, suggest, and recommend any programs and ideas on the implementation of programs which are relevant to all minority groups.
3. That the Federal Agencies, to assure the implementation of equal opportunity policies, should collect and utilize racial and ethnic group data for Puerto Ricans.
4. That Federal Agencies, specifically HUD, should abandon reliance on complaint processing and establish affirmative compliance mechanisms.
5. That the Federal Regional Council make a concerted effort to issue pamphlets, forms, press releases, and any other type of general information in Spanish.
6. That a second regional conference funded by the Federal Regional Council be held, attended by representatives of the Federal Agencies which deliver services to the Spanish speaking community, to consider the recent steps taken to implement the first conference.

7. That the conference consider funding a career opportunity program for the local school districts to train Spanish speaking teachers.

8. That there be closer coordination between HEW, OEO, and HUD in the delivery of health, education, housing, and welfare services to the Spanish speaking community.

APPENDICES

Figures 1 - 12

(May 1971)

Figure 1

POSITION TITLE	NO. OF EMPLOYEES	NO. OF PUERTO RICANS
Director	1	0
Assistant Director	3	0
Head Soc. Work Supervisor	1	0
Prin. Soc. Work Supervisor	3	0
Soc. Work Supervisor	14	0
Social Worker	92	1
Social Service Technician	25	1
Soc. Serv. Admn.	6	0
Case Aide	6	1
Senior Accountant	1	0
Junior Accountant	2	0
Prin. Stat. Mach. Opr.	1	0
Principal Clerk	7	0
Senior Clerk Stenographer	5	0
Senior Clerk Typist	6	0
Junior Clerk Stenographer	12	1
Junior Clerk Typist	24	2
Home Economics Supervisor	1	0
Homemaker	8	0
Stat. Mach. Operator	6	0
Telephone Operator	1	0
Medical Social Worker	1	0
Head Janitor	1	0
Store Keeper	1	0
Store Manager	1	0
Asst. Store Manager	1	0
TOTAL	230	6

FIGURE 2

	NO. OF EMPLOYEES	NO. OF SPANISH SPEAKING	NO. OF PUERTO RICANS
Case Load Social Workers	380	22	0
Noncase load Social Workers	120		
Administration	80	2	0
Nonprofessional Employees	620	25	12
TOTAL	1200	49	12

FIGURE 3

Employment of Puerto Ricans in Boston and Springfield School Districts.

BOSTON:

	Total	Puerto Rican
Head Masters	17	0
Principals	74	0
Administrators	594	0
Teachers	4,729	5
Supervisors of Attendance	44	0
Guidance Advisors	42	0
Guidance Counselors	55	0
Clerical Workers	333	0
Maintenance Personnel	578	0

SPRINGFIELD:

	Total	Puerto Rican	Other Latin Americans
Principals	74	0	0
Teachers	1,312	5	5
Guidance Counselors and Advisors (Elem.)	39		
(Part-time and Secondary)	30	1	0
Library Aides	21	1	0
School Adjustment Counselors	10	0	0
Teachers' Aides		6	0
Home Aides	9	2	1
Clerical Workers			
Maintenance Personnel			

FIGURE 4

Below is a breakdown of the total number of staff, the number of Spanish speaking,and number of Puerto Rican employees in Springfield hospitals. The figures in the third category were obtained from the list of Spanish surnamed employees. Therefore, it is possible that some Puerto Rican employees are not reflected in the category.

	NO. OF EMPLOYEES	NO. OF SPANISH SPEAKING	NO. OF PUERTO RICANS
Springfield	1,680	28 (approx.)	16
Mercy	901	8 "	3
Wesson	442	8 "	0

The figures for Spanish speaking professionals (M.D.s,resident doctors, registered nurses, psychiatrists) in the three hospitals are as follows:

	M.D.s	Resident Doctors	R.N.s	Psychiatrists
Springfield	2	3	0	0
Mercy	4	0	2	0
Wesson	1	3	0	0

FIGURE 5

The Boston Redevelopment Authority has a total staff of 466 and of that number seven are Puerto Rican. Only one of those seven is a professional.

The Boston Housing Authority has 11 Spanish speaking employees out of a total of 800. A further breakdown reveals that one assistant manager, two receptionists, two tenant selection aides, two carpenters, one glazer, and three laborers.

Springfield Housing Authority has a total of 60 employees--20 in the area of administration and 40 in the general area of maintenance. Five Puerto Ricans are employed in the administration group, and seven of the maintenance men are Puerto Rican, for an overall total of 20 percent of the total staff.

	TOTAL STAFF	PUERTO RICAN STAFF	
		PROFESSIONAL	NONPROFESSIONAL
Boston Redevelopment Authority	466	1	6
Boston Housing Authority	800	3	8
Springfield Housing Authority	60	5	7

FIGURE 6

DATA RELATIVE TO PUERTO RICAN AND SPANISH SPEAKING CLIENTELE *

	BOSTON	SPRINGFIELD
Total AFDC Caseload	22,000	4,900
No. of Spanish Speaking Cases on AFDC	1,100	850
No. of Spanish Speaking Persons on AFDC	4,500	3,400
No. of Spanish Speaking Adult Cases on General Relief	300	350
No. of Spanish Speaking Children in Daycare Centers	No way of determining	17
No. of Spanish Speaking Clients in WIN Training Program	238**	10 AFDC
No. of Spanish Speaking Social Workers	22	8
No. of Spanish Speaking Social Work Supervisors	2	None

* All figures are estimates

** 200 Spanish speaking trainees have been in and out of the basic educational program of WIN-MDTA during the past 3 years in this city.

FIGURE 7

SPRINGFIELD - CATEGORICAL CASELOADS

SPRINGFIELD EXHIBIT #89

CATEGORY	TOTAL	PUERTO RICAN	PERCENT
Old Age Assistance (OAA)	2,131	50	2.3
General Relief, Singles (GR)	1,814	307	16.9
General Relief, Families (FSU)	574	95	16.4
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)	4,600	780	16.8
Medical Assistance (MA)	2,897	138	4.8
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD)	853	30	3.5
TOTAL:	12,869	1,400	60.7

FIGURE 8

(1) Hospital Employees in Springfield Hospitals

	EEO REPORT NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	NUMBER OF SPANISH SPEAKING	(TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS) NUMBER OF PUERTO RICANS
Springfield	1,680	28 (Approx.)	16
Mercy	901	8	3
Wesson	442	8	0

(2) Spanish Speaking Professionals in Springfield Hospitals

The figures for Spanish speaking professionals (M. D.s, resident doctors, registered nurses, psychiatrists) in the three hospitals are as follows:

	M.D.s	RESIDENT DOCTORS	R.N.s	(TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS) PSYCHIATRISTS
Springfield	2	3	0	0
Mercy	4	0	2	0
Wesson	1	5	0	0

(3) Spanish Speaking Patients

The figures for Spanish speaking patients in the three hospitals are as follows

	EMERGENCY	OUT PATIENT	IN PATIENT
Springfield	30-40%	40-50%	2-3% (260-400 of a total of 13,000)
Mercy	34%	34%	25%
Wesson		(Approximately 5% of total admissions)	

FIGURE 9

		TOTAL	PUERTO RICAN
(A)	CEP Employees	110	17
(B)	Head Start Employees	29	4
(C)	Legal Services Employees	11	2
(D)	Northern Educational Services	15	3
(E)	Springfield Action Commission	9	0
(F)	Neighborhood Youth Corps	0	0
		174	26

FIGURE 10

BUDGET BREAKDOWN BY PROGRAM OR AGENCY

ABCD

AGENCY OR PROGRAM	1971 BUDGET
APACs and Delegate Agencies	
Allston-Brighton	$ 94,314
Columbia Point	128,616
Dorchester	140,728
East Boston	94,644
Jamaica Plain	143,464
North End	88,403
Parker Hill-Fenway	92,245
Roxbury-North Dorchester	185,644
South Boston	140,259
South End	204,788
Charlestown	127,074
Ecumenical Center	
Roxbury Multiservice Center	122,896
In-Migrants Program	34,696
APCROSS	35,000
Head Start	2,527,002
Legal Services	1,001,678
NECs	1,447,751
Surplus Food	164,695
Family Planning	536,750
Health Centers	
Columbia Point Center	1,479,068
Roxbury Comprehensive	1,782,230
TOTAL:	$10,571.945

FIGURE 11

ABCD SERVICE TO SPANISH SPEAKING
BY AGENCY AND PROGRAM

GENCY OR PROGRAM	Spanish Served During 3rd Quarter 1970	Spanish Served During 1st Quarter 1971	Total All Races Served During 1st Quarter 1971	Percent Spanish of Total Served During 1st Quarter 1971
PACs and Delegate Agencies	1,614	1,180	9,056	13
Allston-Brighton	94	91	1,662	5
Columbia Point	199	22	621	4
Dorchester	84	177	630	18
East Boston	68	0	49	0
Jamaica Plain	192	336	1,602	21
North End	1	0	685	0
Parker Hill-Fenway	1	0	19	0
Roxbury-North Dorchester	70	104	648	16
South Boston	333	37	85	*
South End	160	132	1,147	12
Charlestown	3	1	812	0.1
Ecumenical Center	0	0	263	0
Roxbury Multi Service	9	5	103	5
In-Migrants Program	0	0	385	0
APCROSS	400	335	345	97
eadstart	78	267	1,467	18
egal Services	308	400	2,346	17
ECs	748	1,478	4,469	33
urplus Food	28	140	3,500	4
amily Planning				
ealth Centers				
Columbia Point				
Roxbury				

* South Boston programs not fully documented

FIGURE 12

REGION I - FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

(1) HEW Regional staff - total of 1,700. Twelve are Spanish speaking (six clerical jobs, and six professionals).

(2) HUD Regional Staff - total of 126. Two are Spanish speaking (one below and one above GS-9 level).

HUD Boston Area Office - total of 243. No Puerto Rican or Spanish speaking minority.

(3) OEO - total of 107. Two are Spanish speaking at clerical level; no professionals.

(4) DOT - excluding Coast Guard, there are 2,403 employees. Nine are Spanish speaking. Six are GS-9 or above; the others are below GS-7 or Wage Board employees.

(5) DOL - out of 262 employees in Manpower Administration, Bureau of Labor Statistics, and ESA, five are Spanish speaking. Three are GS-9 or above; two are below GS-9.